

MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXVIII

May 1931

NUMBER 4

AVALLO

I

MORTELLEMENT blessé au combat de Camlann par Mordred le roi Arthur fut porté dans l'Île d'Avallon pour y être guéri ou plutôt ressuscité. "Inclytus ille Arturus rex letaliter vulneratus ... ad sananda vulnera sua in insulam Avallonis advectus." Ainsi l'assure Geoffroy de Monmouth dans son *Historia regum Britanniae* composée vers 1138. Quelque dix ans plus tard le même Geoffroy dans la *Vita Merlini* nous décrit la même île qu'il nomme cette fois *Insula Pomorum* et nous apprend le nom des nymphes magiciennes à qui Arthur dut son retour à la vie: Morgren et ses sœurs.¹

Comme l'*Historia* et la *Vita* sont le berceau non de la légende mais de la littérature arthurienne, comme Geoffroy est le premier auteur chez qui apparaisse la mention de l'Île d'Avallon² il importe de tirer au clair le sens de ce vocable *Avallo*. On a déjà beaucoup cherché et de beaucoup plus compétents que moi. Mais il me semble qu'on n'a pas assez cherché là où il fallait: dans la confrontation entre le passage de l'*Historia* où Geoffroy nomme l'Île et le passage de la *Vita* où il la décrit. Il me semble que c'est encore Geoffroy qui sait le mieux ce que son *Avallo* veut dire et que c'est à lui qu'il faut le demander plutôt qu'à n'importe quel érudit moderne si éminent qu'il soit.

Le plus moderne et non le moins éminent des érudits en question, M. Edmond Faral, dans une étude récente, soumet à une forte pesée

¹ *Historia regum Britanniae*, ed. Faral ("Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes"), III, 233 et 278; *Vita Merlini*, ed. J. J. Parry ("University of Illinois Studies"), vss. 908-40.

² Nous disons bien de l'Île d'Avallon car il se peut que le *Couronnement de Louis* où il est question aux vers 1796 et 1827 de "l'or d'Avalon" soit antérieur à l'*Historia* (cf. l'Introduction de E. Langlois dans son édition du *Couronnement* [S.A.T., 1888] et l'excellent article de F. M. Warren sur *Avalon* dans *MLN*, XIV (1899), 93-95).

critique la valeur que le nom *Avallo* peut avoir comme survivance d'une tradition antérieure à Geoffroy. Cette valeur M. Faral la trouve mince. Il écarte les conjectures des celtisants qui veulent expliquer l'*Avallo* de Geoffroy par le nom de personnages mythiques, pré-historiques ou pseudo-historiques comme *Avallach*, *Aballac*, *Abalach*, *Abellach*, etc. Il pense qu'on doit s'en tenir à *Avallo* tel que Geoffroy l'écrivit et tel que Geoffroy l'a probablement inventé. Car pour M. Faral *Avallo* est un mot qui sonne breton mais que le breton n'explique pas et qui s'explique plutôt par la fantaisie de Geoffroy, poète qui se donne des airs d'historien.¹ Mais M. Faral, qui pense en somme que l'*Avallo* de Geoffroy n'a pas d'ancêtres, pense tout de même que cet *Avallo* est une personne. "Un fait matériel, solide, indiscutable, dit-il, est ... que ce nom est ... un nom de personne." C'est ce fait "indiscutable" que je prendrai d'abord la liberté de discuter.

Quelles raisons M. Faral nous donne-t-il pour affirmer qu'*Avallo* est un nom de personne et non pas de chose ou une expression géographique? C'est, dit-il, que l'auteur du *Brut Tysillio*, un gallois, a deux fois traduit *Insula Avallonis* par *Ynis Avallach*. Or *Avallach* est un nom de personne. De même Guillaume de Rennes (si c'est lui l'adaptateur latin de Geoffroy) et les moines de Glastonbury font d'*Avallo* une personne. Il est vrai que les auteurs de langue française, Wace, Chrétien, Marie de France, ne regardent pas *Avallo* comme une personne, en quoi ils se sont mépris, nous dit M. Faral. Mais qui nous le prouve? Car enfin si, comme l'assure notre érudit, l'*Avallo* de Geoffroy n'est pas un mot breton (ni gallois ni rien), qui nous dit que Gallois et Bretons aient su l'interpréter plus exactement que les Français? En soutenant que le traducteur gallois transpose fidèlement *Avallo* en *Avallach* M. Faral côtoie dangereusement la thèse qu'il combat par ailleurs avec énergie, à savoir que l'*Avallo* de Geoffroy a un ancêtre dans le clan brumeux des *Avallach*, *Aballac*, *Abalach*, etc. Et nous sommes en droit de dire contre M. Faral ce que lui-même dit contre les érudits qui veulent à toute force donner une généalogie celtique à *Avallo*: "On hésitera à accepter ces explications pour peu qu'on remarque que le nom d'*Avallo*, fourni par Geoffroy, n'est ni *Avallach*, ni *Abalac*, ni *Abalach* ni *Abellach*."

¹ Edmond Faral, "L'île d'Avallon et la Fée Morgane," *Mélanges Jeanroy* (1928), pp. 243-53.

Mais au fait pourquoi M. Faral tient-il tant à ce qu'*Avallo* de Geoffroy soit un nom de personne? Pourquoi y tient-il au risque d'une contradiction? Pourquoi accueille-t-il l'*Avallach* du traducteur gallois alors qu'il chasse loin de lui ce même *Avallach* quand des celtisants bien intentionnés le lui offrent en compagnie d'*Aballac*, *Aballach* et consorts? C'est, je crois, que M. Faral pense qu'*Avallo* comme invention de Geoffroy fait la paire, si j'ose dire, avec *Morgen*, autre création du génial menteur.¹ Or *Morgen* est de toute évidence une personne. Mais cette symétrie peut bien être trompeuse. Et le caractère "personnel" de *Morgen* n'entraîne pas nécessairement celui d'*Avallo*. Ce même besoin de symétrie et surtout le besoin de donner un père à *Morgen* et ses sœurs peut avoir influencé les commentateurs qui veulent que *Avallo* soit une personne. En tout cas un fait certain c'est que les commentateurs qui croient qu'*Avallo* est une personne ne savent pas quelle espèce de personne il était. D'aucuns en font un roi, voire le père de *Morgen*. Mais ce sont des tard-venus et on sent leur incertitude jusque dans leur excès de précision: ils ne font de toute évidence que donner un sens, un emploi à un nom qui ne leur dit rien. Celui des commentateurs qui semble exprimer de la façon la plus juste l'ignorance ou le scepticisme au sujet d'*Avallo* c'est Giraud de Cambrie. Dans son *Speculum ecclesiae* (II, 9) il emploie au sujet de notre personnage l'expression "*ab Avallone quodam*."² Ce petit *quodam* est plein de sens. Pour Giraud de Cambrie *Avallo* est un *quidam*, autant dire un illustre inconnu. C'est une personne sans doute mais une personne si indéterminée qu'on peut se demander si Geoffroy qui se permet beaucoup de choses, se serait permis de créer un si pur fantôme. Il ne sert de rien de répondre que si Geoffroy n'a pas pris la peine de dire quelle espèce de personne était *Avallo* c'est que ses lecteurs le savaient par tradition. Car alors comment expliquer que nous ne rencontrions aucune trace de cette tradition explicative avant Geoffroy chez qui cette tradition se réduit à rien? Comment expliquer l'incertitude quasi ironique de Giraud de Cambrie?

En somme quand nous nous obstinons à faire d'*Avallo* *quelqu'un* nous ne savons rien sur lui. Ne serions-nous pas plus heureux si nous

¹ Pour une brillante et solide discussion du nom de *Morgen* et de ses sœurs par M. Faral voir pp. 249-52 de son article.

² Cf. E. Faral, *op. cit.*, p. 245, où la leçon *a Vallone quodam* est rétablie en *ab Avallone quodam*.

en faisons *quelque chose*, un concept non plus d'individu mais d'objet? Et n'est-ce pas à Geoffroy lui-même que nous devons demander ce qu'est cette "chose" à laquelle il a donné le nom d'*Avallo*?

Ce que c'est qu'*Avallo* Geoffroy nous le dit, mais il le dit à sa façon qui n'a pas été bien comprise. Il l'a dit en deux fois et à quelque quinze ans d'intervalle: il l'a dit dans le passage de l'*Historia* (de 1138) où il nomme l'Ile d'Avallon et dans le passage de la *Vita* (de 1150 environ) où il la décrit. Ce sont ces deux passages qu'il faut rapprocher.

Le premier passage, celui de l'*Historia regum Britanniae* (XI, 2) est fort court. C'est celui que nous citons au début de ces pages. *Avallo* y est tout juste présent sous la forme génitive *Avallonis* qui sert de déterminant à *Insula*. A quoi on peut ajouter une référence également brève de Geoffroy à l'Ile d'Avallon où a été forgée Caliburne, l'épée magique d'Arthur (*Accintus etiam . . . gladio optimo, et in insula Avallonis fabricato*, IX, 4). Comme précisions c'est peu. Mais c'est assez pour prouver que dès l'*Historia* Geoffroy avait dans l'esprit une île magique où on ressuscite des gens mortellement blessés (*letaliter vulneratus*)—au moins quand ils s'appellent Arthur.

Quant à l'autre passage, celui de la *Vita Merlini* (908–42) l'aborder c'est aborder l'Ile elle-même, la visiter, en connaître les féeriques habitantes, car, cette fois, Geoffroy qui, dans l'*Historia*, n'avait fait que la nommer nous la décrit avec une poétique complaisance. Mais les détails qu'il nous donne ne sont que broderie sur le thème de l'*Historia*. La trame est la même:

*Insula Pomorum, quae Fortunata vocatur,
Ex re nomen habet, quia per se singula profert
Ultero foecundas segetes producit et uvas
Nataque poma suis praetense germine silvis
Illuc post bellum Camblani, vulnere laesum,
Ducimus Arcturum, nos conducente Barintho,
Aequora qui fuerant et caeli sidera nota.
Hoc rectore ratis cum principe venimus illuc,
Et nos quo decuit Morgen suscepit honore. . . .¹*

C'est à dire: L'Ile des Pommes qu'on appelle L'Ile Heureuse, tient son nom de ce qu'elle produit tout d'elle-même. . . . D'elle-même elle porte des moissons fécondes et des raisins et dans ses forêts des pommes nées d'un germe qui s'y trouve de lui-même. . . . C'est là qu'après la

¹ MS Cottonienne, Vesp. E. IV. Je suis la correction de M. Faral qui rétablit *praetense* au lieu de *praetense* du MS.

bataille de Camblan, nous avons conduit Arthur blessé, ayant pour guide Barinthe qui connaît les mers et les astres. Avec lui pour pilote nous sommes arrivés là avec le roi, et Morgen nous a reçus avec les honneurs qui seyaient. ...

En traduisant *Insula Pomorum* par l'*Ile des Pommes* ainsi que le fait J. J. Parry dans son édition de la *Vita* ("the island of apples"), j'ai pour moi l'autorité de Geoffroy lui-même. Ce point vaut que j'y insiste. On sait que dans le latin classique *poma* (n. pl.) signifie des fruits des arbres en général et non des "pommes," qui se disent *mala* (s. *malum*). Mais on sait aussi qu'au temps de Geoffroy *poma* était traité comme ayant le sens de "pommes."¹ Et surtout, on va le voir, c'est ainsi que Geoffroy l'interprète. Les vers de la *Vita Merlini* qui précèdent presque immédiatement ceux où apparaît *Insula Pomorum* ne laissent aucun doute à ce sujet. Dans ces vers (896-97) il est question des pommes d'or des Hespérides (qui sont bien des *pommes* et non des fruits quelconques). Or Geoffroy pour les désigner emploie non l'expression classique *aurea mala* mais l'expression *aurea poma*:

Hesperides vigilem perhibentur habere draconem
Quem servare ferunt sub frondibus aurea poma. . . .

Ainsi encore, aux vers 1408-41, Geoffroy nous conte l'histoire du pauvre fou qui s'est laissé tenter par des *redolentia poma* maléfiques. Or l'épithète *redolentia* est une épithète homérique—autant dire un cliché—pour la pomme et il y a une tradition constante qui fait de la pomme le fruit de tentation. Tout cela fait bien voir que lorsque Geoffroy écrit *poma* c'est à "pommes" qu'il pense. Quand il veut désigner "des fruits en général" là où le latin classique dirait *poma* il dit "arborei fructus." Ainsi au vers 866 où il décrit la fertilité de Britannia:

. . . . Arboreos fructus, gemmas, preciosa metalla
Et quicquid praestare solet natura creatrix. . . .

Il importait pour qui cherche la signification d'*Avallo* de déterminer celle de *Poma*. En effet, si *Insula Pomorum* était l'*Ile des Fruits* nous aurions à faire simplement à un concept général tel que Geoffroy le trouvait dans les modèles littéraires qu'il a suivis et surtout dans Isidore de Séville dont il s'est fortement inspiré.²

¹ Cf. Du Cange, VI, 401: "*Poma Adam* (in Jacob de Vitriaco Lib. 3) in quibus morsus evidentissime apparet."

² *Etymologiae sive origines* (XIV, 6). Cf. aussi, suivant M. Lot, les *Collectanea* (LIV, 11) de Solin et—pour Morgen et ses sœurs—le *De situ orbis* (III, 6) de Pomponius Mela comme l'a montré Miss Paton (*Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, p. 43).—J. J. Parry, *Vita Merlini*, p. 122; Faral, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

Fortunatus insulae vocabulo suo significant omnia ferre bona, quasi felices et beatae fructuum ubertate. Sua enim aptae natura pretiosarum poma silvarum parturiunt; fortuitis vitibus juga collium vestiuntur; ad herbarum vicem messis et clus vulgo est. . . .

Comme Geoffroy, Isidore de Séville parle de fertilité, de fructification jaillissante. Mais tandis qu'Isidore donne comme nom à ses Iles l'épithète abstraite de *Fortunées* Geoffroy, lui, donne à la sienne le nom concret de *l'Ile des Pommes*. Ainsi nous n'avons plus à faire à un concept général, homérique, mais à une image précise qui se détache avec un relief particulier. Et ce concept ainsi mis en vedette dans le nom que l'Ile porte dans la *Vita*, il y a bien des chances pour qu'il soit déjà présent dans le nom que la même Ile porte dans l'*Historia: Avallo*.

II

L'équation *Avallo = Poma = Pommes* n'est encore qu'une présomption critique. Reste à montrer que cette équation est fondée en linguistique, qu'elle existe objectivement, que Geoffroy n'a pas inventé le mot *Avallo* ni moi le sens de "pommes" que je donne à ce mot.

Sans être grand clerc en fait de celtique on peut savoir que *aval*, *avall* est un thème de nom breton, que *aval*, *avall* veut dire *pomme* et que *Avallo* offre avec *aval*, *avall* une analogie plus grande qu'avec *Avallach*, ou *Abellach*.¹ Même si on ne sait pas cela on peut croire que Guillaume de Malmesbury, l'auteur du *De antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, le sait quand il écrit que *Insula Pomorum* est la traduction d'un nom indigène *Insula Avalloniae* qu'il rattache au britonique *Avalla*, *pommes*.² Même si Guillaume, comme on peut le penser, s'aventure indûment avec son nom indigène d'une *Insula Avallonia* il reste ceci: il a vu le rapport intime du mot *Poma* avec le mot *Avallo*, et du mot *Avallo* avec *Aval*, *Avall* pomme.

Mais pour river à *Avallo* le sens de *poma* nous avons mieux que tout cela: dans un texte bien antérieur à Geoffroy, *Avallo* sous la même forme qu'il a dans Geoffroy est traduit par *Poma* avec le sens de *Pomme*.

Ce document est un glossaire gaulois-latin dit *Glossaire de Vienne*

¹ Cf. Dottin, *La Langue gauloise* (gloss.); Holder, *Altcelt. Wortschatz*, I, 6; Schuchardt, *Z. f. rom. Phil.*, XXVI (1902), 321, etc., etc.

² San Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, p. 425. Il est vrai que Guillaume de Malmesbury suggère en second lieu un *quidam Avalloc* qui aurait vécu dans l'Ile "avec ses filles." Mais cela sent très fort le besoin d'expliquer Morgen et ses sœurs.

(Autriche) qui, publié pour la première fois en 1836, par Endlicher, a été l'objet en 1893 d'une réédition et d'un commentaire critiques par H. Zimmer. Le MS qui le contient est du 9^{ième} siècle, mais l'original remonte au 5^{ième} siècle. Le lieu de provenance semble être le Sud de la Gaule (Zimmer). C'est une liste de mots gaulois avec leur traduction qui porte le titre *De nominibus gallicis*.¹ Or dans ce fragment de lexique le quinzième article est :

AVALLO POMA.

Avec l'*Avallo* du *Glossaire* nous sommes de toute évidence en présence d'un mot identique au breton *aval*, *avall* pomme. Ainsi que Zimmer l'a montré, les *nomina gallica* du *Glossaire de Vienne* sont en fait des mots gaulois avec une flexion terminale latine. C'est donc bien à un original *avall* que nous sommes ramenés pour *Avallo*. S'il en est ainsi, si nous avons à faire à un mot encore présent dans le domaine *nordique*, nous n'avons pas à nous inquiéter de la provenance *méridionale* de notre document. De même la persistance d'*aval*, *avall* nous permet de disposer de l'objection chronologique: cinq siècles séparent l'*Avallo* du *Glossaire* de l'*Avallo* de Geoffroy. Mais *aval*, *avall* vivait au temps de Geoffroy, vit toujours. L'*Avallo* du *Glossaire* et l'*Avallo* de Geoffroy viennent du même terroir linguistique, sont le même mot, le même fruit: la pomme. Sans aucun doute ce n'est pas dans le *Glossaire de Vienne* que Geoffroy a puisé son *Avallo*. Il n'a bien certainement jamais jeté les yeux sur notre document. Mais le *Glossaire de Vienne* qui a eu la chance de survivre jusqu'à nous n'est probablement qu'un spécimen de ces guides en deux langues qui servaient aux clercs dans les régions où se maintenait un dialecte celtique. Dira-t-on que Geoffroy n'a jamais pu connaître un tract de ce genre? Ou, si on ne veut pas admettre cette possibilité, dira-t-on que Geoffroy n'a jamais pu savoir qu'en breton *pomme* se disait *aval*, *avall*? Ou que connaissant *avall* il n'a jamais pu donner spontanément à ce terme dans son *Historia* écrite en latin, la flexion terminale latine en *o*, *onis*, même s'il n'avait rencontré dans aucun texte le mot *Avallo*?²

¹ Z. f. vergl. Sprachf. auf d. Geb. des indog. Spr., XXXII (1903), 230-40. C'est sans doute à ce document que pense Schuchardt quand il écrit (*loc. cit.*) qu'*Avallo* pomme est attesté "aus alter Zeit."

² Il pouvait lire *Avallo* dans un texte beaucoup plus rapproché de lui que le *Glossaire de Vienne*, dans la "Vie de St. Coloman," *Ioniac vitae Columbani*, ch. 8: "Columbanus . . . ad Avallonem castrum pervenit." Comme *thème de lieu* il n'y a rien de commun entre l'*Avallon* de Coloman et celui de Geoffroy mais comme *thème de nom* c'est autre chose. Cet *Avallo* dont Geoffroy, sans être grand étymologiste, pouvait percevoir la relation avec le breton *aval*, *avall* pouvait lui servir de précédent et d'étal pour son *Avallo* à lui.

En somme, étant donné dans deux passages de Geoffroy (*Historia*, XI, 2, et *Vita*, vss. 908-40) la présence d'un même concept (l'Île Magique) désigné une fois par *Insula Avallonis* et une autre fois par *Insula Pomorum*, l'unité essentielle du concept suggère l'identité foncière des deux noms. Et nous pouvons conjecturer que l'inconnue, l'*X Avallo* se laisse ramener à la quantité connue *Poma = pomme*. Si maintenant l'équation *Avallo = Poma* implicitement contenue dans une réalité linguistique certaine (britannique *aval, avall = pomme*), se retrouve explicite et littérale sous la forme *Avallo = Poma* (le *Glossaire de Vienne*), alors nous n'avons pas à chercher midi à quatorze heures ni le sens de l'*Avallo* de Geoffroy ailleurs que dans *Poma*.

Mais pourquoi Geoffroy a-t-il donné à l'Île deux noms d'aspect différent? C'est qu'il y a Geoffroy "historien" et Geoffroy "poète." Ce "génial menteur" dont le génie et le mensonge ont alimenté presque toute la littérature arthurienne s'entend à observer la différence des genres et des tons. Ainsi dans l'*Historia regum Britanniae*, quand il arrive à l'escamotage mystique du Roi Arthur il sait bien que ce qu'il va nous conter est une histoire de fées. (Il est difficile de ne pas percevoir son furtif sourire dans l'opposition qu'il fait entre la blessure mortelle d'Arthur et sa guérison.) Mais sur les éléments par trop fantastiques il appuie le moins qu'il peut. Il se garde bien de nous parler explicitement de fées à la Morgane. Et pour nommer l'Île où on transporte Arthur il s'avise d'un nom qui a un air plausible de lieu-dit, *Insula Avallonis*. Avallon fera d'autant mieux pour l'*Historia* que ce nom existe déjà dans la géographie. Il désigne, il est vrai, non une île mais une ville des Gaules. Mais Geoffroy sait bien que la confusion n'est pas à craindre et que le précédent de l'*Avallo* historique des Gaules assure simplement la plausibilité de son *Avallo* à lui.

Quant à l'autre ouvrage de Geoffroy, la *Vita Merlini*, c'est un poème et un roman. Geoffroy n'a plus besoin, cette fois, de ce faux air géographique qu'*Avallonis* donnait au nom de son *Insula*. Car nous ne sommes plus dans l'*Histoire*. Et l'*Île d'Avallon* deviendra l'*Île des Pommes*, qui est le même nom mais traduit dans le langage à la fois familier et mystérieux de la légende.

Jusqu'ici je me suis exprimé comme si Geoffroy avait de lui-même assigné ce nom d'*Avallo* ou *Île des Pommes* au refuge paradisiaque où il envoie Arthur guérir de ses blessures mortelles. C'est que la

question pour moi était de savoir ce qu'Avallo était dans l'esprit et dans le texte de Geoffroy et non ce qu'il est en soi. Et je n'avais cure de m'engager trop avant dans la redoutable question du folklore arthurien avant Geoffroy. Mais, sans prendre part dans le fond du débat, il est bien permis de poser un fait reconnu: Geoffroy garde au moins des traces de traditions antérieures à lui. Si j'en crois un des érudits les moins suspects de tendresse pour la théorie traditionaliste, M. Faral, "il convient dans les combinaisons de Geoffroy d'assurer une certaine place à l'idée de ces pays d'outre-mer, de ces îles lointaines dont l'esprit des peuples celtiques du moyen-âge était hanté. ..." N'est-ce pas dans cette marge de traditionalisme diffus que se place l'*Insula Avallonis* de Geoffroy? Même si on ne croit pas à l'*Insula Avallonia* de Guillaume de Malmesbury on ne peut nier que Geoffroy avait vu émerger sur l'Océan du folklore celtique les contours de son Ile d'Avallon. Et c'est bien probablement de là que lui venait aussi cette image d'*Ile des Pommes* qu'il substitue à la dénomination d'*Ile Heureuse* d'Isidore de Séville. De même dans la description de Morgen et de ses sœurs, Geoffroy suit Pomponius Mela, mais Pomponius Mela à son tour suit la tradition celtique puisque les magiciennes dont il parle sont les "Gallicenae" de l'Ile bretonne de Sein. Ainsi c'est près de la côte celte que naviguent les imaginations de Geoffroy. En particulier c'est, comme le terme britanique *Avallo* suffirait presque à le prouver, dans le Verger celtique qu'ont poussé les pommiers de notre "*Ile des Pommes*."¹

Mais le folklore de la Pomme déborde largement le domaine celtique. Même si on rejetait complètement (ce qui serait absurde) l'action des traditions populaires dans la formation du mythe avallorien il resterait encore assez d'éléments précis dans le "Lore Clérical" pour expliquer tout le thème d'*Avallo-Poma*. La Bible, outre le Verger

¹ Cf. le poème gallois de l'*Afallanau*. Ce pommier magique, caché dans les bois de Celyddon, ne sera découvert que lors du triomphe des Bretons. Ainsi le réveil d'Arthur dans Avallon sera le signe du même triomphe. Pour l'*Afallanau* cf. *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, éd. Skene, II, 18. Selon Parry le poème en question dont la date précise n'est pas connue aurait une origine indépendante de l'*Avallo* de Geoffroy mais dérive d'une tradition commune.

Cf. aussi un texte—dont la date est bien antérieure à Geoffroy—l'*Imram Brain* où "le Pommier d'Emain" est l'Arbre Symbole de l'Autre Monde ("The Wonderful Flower That Came to St. Brendan," par A. C. L. Brown, dans les *Manly Anniversary Studies* [Chicago, 1923], pp. 296-97).

Pour références voir aussi E. Hull, "The Silver Bough in Irish Legend," *Folk Lore*, XII (1901), 430-45.

adamique, fournit le trait précis de la Pomme dont l'odeur fait renaître les défaillants (*Cantique des Cantiques*, II, 3, 5). Ce trait (dont la relation logique avec la résurrection d'Arthur dans l'*Ile des Pommes* est manifeste) se trouve aussi dans Ovide (*Met.* viii. 676). Dans Isidore de Séville (*Etym.* VI, 24) la Pomme est le fruit d'abondance; dans les gloses de St. Benoît (*Gloss. S. Bened. Cap. de Agricultura*, d'après Du Cange, VI, 401) *pomarium* est un équivalent de *Paradis terrestre*. Ainsi la tradition cléricale à elle seule suffirait à expliquer pourquoi le concept de *pommes* est venu se fixer dans le nom de l'Ile magique. Quant au choix du concept même de l'Ile, la tradition cléricale encore et semi-humaniste des *Iles fortunées* de Solin, de Pomponius Mela et d'Isidore de Séville le livrait tout fait à Geoffroy. Mais l'essence britonique du mot *Avallo* indique que ces traditions cléricales n'ont fait qu'aider Geoffroy à styliser des traces du folklore celtique.¹ Car telle est bien la formule qui définit le mieux les jeux de la fantaisie et de la tradition chez Geoffroy.

En conclusion, l'analyse et la comparaison des deux passages de l'*Historia regum Britanniae* (XI, 2) et de la *Vita Merlini* (908-40) invitent à poser l'équation *Avallo = Poma = Pommes*. Cette équation est d'autre part attestée comme réalité linguistique. Enfin, la présence de cette équation dans l'esprit et le texte de Geoffroy est fonction d'un fait constant: le rôle essentiel que l'idée de fructification et celui de pommes en particulier joue dans les mythes des Paradis, un rôle connu—c'est le cas de le dire—depuis Adam.

Chercher une étymologie à *Avallo* en lui fabriquant une généalogie de dieux ou de rois c'est peupler de formes vaines le Royaume des Ombres. Il faut regarder vers la terre. C'est là qu'on verra briller *Avallo* parmi les pommes d'or de la légende éternelle.

LOUIS CONS

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE

¹ Il semble qu'une explication possible et la plus plausible peut-être de l'expression "tout l'or d'Avalon" aux vers 1796 et 1827 du *Couronnement de Louis* serait encore de s'en tenir à l'essence sémantique d'*Avalo* comme signifiant le verger des pommes. Mais ici c'est le souvenir des pommes d'or du jardin des Hespérides popularisées par Virgile et Ovide qui fixerait ce concept de richesse. Il ne faut pas oublier que Geoffroy parle des "*aurea poma*" des Hespérides tout juste dix vers avant ceux où il parle de l'*Insula Pomorum* (*Vita Merlini*, vss. 896-97 et 908-40).

AVALON

THE meaning and origin of the name Avalon have long been the subject of speculation and controversy among Arthurian scholars, and yet, strangely enough, little use seems to have been made of the standard reference works dealing with the languages involved in the discussion. The following study is merely an attempt to apply to this problem the principles that have already been established by Celtic and Romance philologists.

Holder lists the hypothetical Old Celtic form *ab-dllo-s*, which he infers from such actual forms as OC *aball*, W. *afal*, Bret. and Corn. *aval*, and OI *aball*.¹ This form, so far as I have been able to discover, has not been questioned by subsequent investigators. In the same entry he cites the actual Gaulish form *Avallo* with its equivalent *poma* as set forth in Endlicher's *Glossary*, a much-discussed and much-forgotten word-list assigned by some to the fifth century.² The significance of this equation for the history of the word Avalon is set forth with telling effect by Professor Cons in an article appearing in this number of *Modern Philology*. Holder also cites the word *Aballo(n)*, an *n*-stem designated as a place-name, and meaning 'the possession of Aballus.' The name Aballus, however, is not found, and Vendryes seems definitely to have established *Aballō*/*Avallō* as a place-name independently derived from a common noun and meaning 'ville des pommes.'³ This statement is accepted without question by Pederson, who gives the meaning of *Aballo* as 'Apfelstadt.'⁴

When Latinized, it was inflected like Latin *n*-stems (e.g., *sermo*), and so inflected it appears in the *Itinerarium Antonini*,⁵ in the sixth-century *Vita S. Germani* (CASTELLO AVELLONE),⁶ in the seventh-

¹ *All-celtischer Sprachschatz*, s.v.

² *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.*, XXXII (1893), 230 ff. See also the discussion by Stokes in *Trans. Phil. Soc.* (1868-69), pp. 251-57; *Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachf.*, VI (1870), 227-31; *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogerm. Sprache*, XI (1886), 142-43.

³ *Mém. de la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, XIII (1905-6), 387. The *-o(n)* suffix constitutes, in his judgment, a secondary ending used to form a place-name from a common noun.

⁴ *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1913), II, 108. He cites as a parallel *Cularo*, 'ville des concombres.'

⁵ *Itineraria Romana*, ed. Konrad Miller (Stuttgart, 1916), p. lxiii. Here it appears as *Aballone*. On the interchange of *Aballone* and *Avallone* see Holder, *op. cit.*, s.v. *ab-dllo-s*.

⁶ *Mon. Germ. Hist. Auct. Ant.*, IV¹, 17; see also *Avallone castro*, p. 12.

century *Vita S. Columbani* (AVALLONEM CASTRUM),¹ in Frodoard's *Chronicon*,² and in many subsequent documents. The place referred to is, of course, the well-known modern town of Avallon (dept. Yonne). Modern Havelu (dept. Eure-et-Loire, arr. Dreux, cant. Anet) appears in Venantius Fortunatus' *Vita S. Leobini* as AVALLO VICUS and AVALLOCIIUM.³ Longnon sees in Valeuil (Dordogne) and in Valuejols (Cantal) the Gaulish noun *aballo* plus the Celtic-Latin suffix *-oialum*, which, having become AVALOIALUM or AVALOGILUM, lost the initial *a* through having been mistaken for a sort of locative. These names, he thinks, may be considered equivalent to 'pommeraie'.⁴ The Celtic word *Avallo*, therefore, was equivalent to *locus pomorum*, or *vicus pomorum*, and with this meaning was fairly prevalent in Celtic Gaulish place-names.

The name as it appears in Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britanniae*,⁵ INSULA AVALLONIS, is linguistically the same thing. The nearest Latin equivalent would be *insula Pomifera* or *insula Pomorum*. *Avallonis* is not here to be considered a genitive in the same sense as *Pomorum*; it is a place-name based on the word for 'apple' and therefore similar in usage to the genitive in the English expression 'the State of Maine.'

What *insula Avallonis* means in modern language is more difficult to determine than may at first appear. The vernacular words for 'apple,' Ir. *abhall*, W. *afall*, as well as OE *æppel*, at one time meant either fruit in general or the fruit of the apple-tree in particular. The equation AVALLO: POMA as found in Endlicher's *Glossary*,⁶ moreover, would indicate that even the Latin *pomum*, in Western Europe at least, was beginning to partake somewhat of the same uncertainty of meaning as the vernacular. That is to say, it might occasionally be used as the equivalent of *malum*. Further indication of the use of *pomum* in the sense of *malum* appears in the work of the fifth-century Gaulish-Latin writer Marcellus Empiricus. The results of a specific study of this problem carried on by E. Geyer show that although the word *malum* in Italy was preserved as *melo* and *mela*, in France it was

¹ *MGH, SS. rer. Mer.*, IV, 92 (cap. 20); see also various occurrences in *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. XII, Index.

² Bouquet, *Recueil*, VIII, 187b.

³ *MGH, Auct. Ant.*, IV, 79.

⁴ *Les Noms de lieu de la France* (Paris, 1920), art. 151; see also H. Gröhler, *Französ. Ortsnamen*, p. 146.

⁵ Ed. Griscorn, pp. 439, 501.

⁶ See above, p. 395.

displaced by *pomum*. Geyer cites in support of his conclusions numerous instances in which *malum* in Gaulish Latin is glossed *pomum*.¹ It is possible, of course, that later the influence of classical Latin revived the distinction temporarily. The final outcome, however, leads us to believe that if the influence worked in this direction it did so in vain, for *pomum* (through **poma*) inevitably became *pomme*. The same tendency toward specializing of meaning operated in Irish and in English. By the twelfth century there are comparatively few cases of the use of English 'apple' in any but the special sense, except in compounds, although there are occasional instances of its use in the meaning of 'fruit' as late as the seventeenth century.

It is more reasonable to conjecture, therefore, that Geoffrey meant 'isle of apples' than that he meant 'isle of fruits.' Unfortunately we cannot tell with absolute certainty. We can be fairly certain, however, that, whatever *insula Avallonis* means in modern language, it meant to Geoffrey precisely the same as *insula pomorum*.

What sort of place is Geoffrey's *insula Avallonis*? In the *Historia* it is the place to which Arthur was taken after the battle of Camlann, and it is the place where Excalibur was forged. This should be sufficient to establish its character; but if we need anything more we find it in Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini*, where Arthur's place of retirement is called not only *insula Pomorum* but *insula Fortunata*. It is described as a place of great fruitfulness and beauty, inhabited by Morgan and her eight sisters, who are to tend Arthur's wounds and restore him to health. The guide to this isle is Barinthus, the same who guided St. Brendan to the Blessed Isle. We may conclude, therefore, that not only was the *insula Avallonis* the same as the *insula Pomorum*, but that it was regarded as a sort of earthly paradise. The romance writers, of course, looked upon it in the same way. There are likewise in the *chansons de geste*² various references to Avalon as a place of great wealth: We have, therefore, two Avalons. One is a definitely located town in Burgundy, which, as far as we know, was never regarded as

¹ "Spuren gallischen Lateins bei Marcellus Empiricus," *Arch. f. lat. Lexicographie*, VIII (1893), 474.

² See the references assembled by Langlois in his *Table des Noms propres*, Paris, 1924. One of these (that in the *Couronnement de Louis*) has been fully discussed by F. M. Warren, *Modern Language Notes*, XIV (1899), 94-95.

the abode of supernatural beings or traditional heroes; the other was an earthly paradise. There is nothing particularly curious about this fact. The Valley of the Moon, for example, in one sense is a setting for fairy-tales, and in another sense it is a well-known district in California. In the case of Avalon the very nature of the name, whether it meant 'apples' or 'fruit,' was sufficient to connect it with legends of fairy lands endowed with supernatural abundance.

To these two Avalons we must now add a third. In the *Perlesvaus*, the Isle of Avalon contains a "holy house of religion" and a chapel in which are buried not only Arthur but Guenevere as well. One of the most significant documents in the formation of this new Avalon is William of Malmesbury's advertising tract, *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae* (1129-35). A passage in this work describes the secular beginnings of Glastonbury, enumerates the various names by which it was called, and explains that it was designated *insula Avalloniae* from British *aval* because of the abundance of apples found there by Glasteing, the secular founder.¹ The word 'apple' is here used advisedly, for the writer speaks of the fruit as *mala mali*, 'the apples of the apple-tree.' There is no essential difference in meaning between William's *insula Avalloniae* and Geoffrey's *insula Avallonis*. Geoffrey is using the conventional Latinized form of Celtic *Avallo* (cf. *castro Avallone*, etc.), while William is using a re-Latinized form of the French *Avallon* (which is itself probably derived from inflected forms of *Avallo*).

In the last part of this passage there is a statement that has aroused some perplexing questions. The writer offers an alternative explanation of the name *insula Avalloniae*. He says it was so named because of a certain Avalloc who lived there with his daughters, on account of the remoteness of the place. As to the origin of this curious contribution to the development of Avalon tradition we may find a hint in the Welsh *Bruts*. Where Geoffrey reads *insula Avallonis* they read *ynys Afallach*, or *Avallach*. The meaning of *afallach*, as is well known, is 'apple-orchard.' Pederson in his comment on the word² speaks of the *x*-suffix in this word as analogous to that in Latin *lumbago*, *plantago*.

¹ Although the *De antiquitate* is known to contain interpolations of various ages, there seems to be no compelling reason for concluding that this passage is one of them. See my discussion of Newell's argument for interpolation in *Speculum*, II (1927), 280-81.

² *Vergl., Gram.*, II, 25.

The name *ynys Afallach*, therefore, means, like *insula Avallonis*, 'isle of apples.' The author of the *De antiquitate* apparently knew this name. He also knew something of the tradition later related by Geoffrey in the *Vita Merlini* (possibly not in quite the same form) to the effect that the *insula pomorum* was inhabited by certain sisters devoted to magical pursuits. He knew, moreover, the Welsh genealogies, as Baist pointed out a number of years ago, and he used these genealogies in this very passage as the source for his list of Glasteing's brothers.¹ The name *Aballach* occurs in two of these genealogies, and he could hardly have helped seeing it. It seems fairly reasonable to conjecture, therefore, that the name of the man and the name of the island flowed together in his mind, so that he constituted Aballac a sort of Celtic Atlas, dwelling in seclusion with his daughters on the isle of apples. In brief, he says that *ynys Afallach* may mean Afallach's Isle; but he is mistaken.

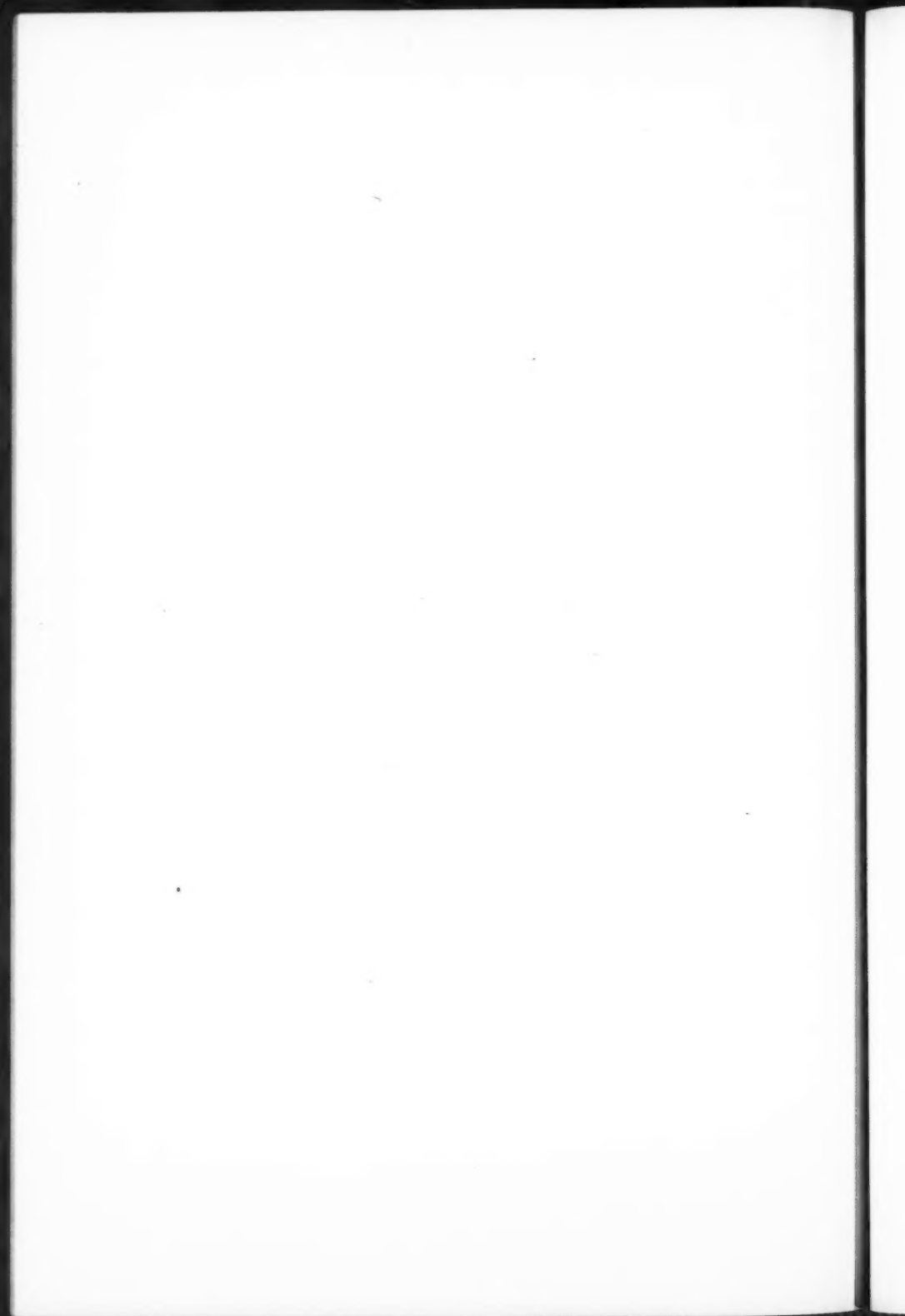
When the supposed remains of Arthur and Guenevere were exhumed at Glastonbury, in 1191, a cross was found in the grave bearing the famous inscription, "Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arthurus in *insula Avallonia*, etc." Giraldus Cambrensis, writing his report of this event some thirty years later,² quotes the inscription and explains the name. In his explanation he follows the *De antiquitate* in saying that the name was derived from *aval*, in which he was almost correct. He also follows the *De antiquitate* in offering the alternative explanation that the place was named for a certain Avallo, in which he seems quite certainly wrong. Guillaume de Rennes, in his metrical redaction of the *Historia regum Britanniae*, is merely perpetuating this mistake when he says that Arthur, after the battle of Camlann, was taken to the court of King Avallo.

C. H. SLOVER

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

¹ *Zeitschr. f. Rom. Phil.*, XIX (1895), 326-47.

² "De principis instructione," *Opera*, "Rolls Series," VIII, 126 ff.



RECENT THEORIES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

IN A very interesting article¹ Mr. W. P. Shepard describes his attempts to apply certain critical methods to actual problems. His conclusion, namely, that when these methods yield any results at all these are generally contradictory, may be startling, but I confess that it hardly surprises me. Were it not that the theory is still obscure and its application difficult, criticism would not be in the state of confusion in which we find it, while obviously much must depend on the critic's mastery of the method and his technical ability.

Mr. Shepard writes with disarming modesty. He warns his readers that, while he has done his best to apply the methods with the utmost impartiality and strictness, he cannot hope that his results are quite the same as might have been achieved by the authors of those methods themselves. In some respects, indeed, he seems unnecessarily diffident. Thus he writes (p. 140): "It may be that I made a wrong choice of the text or the passage, or that the collation of the variants was not accurate and thorough." Of course, if his collations were incorrect or incomplete he cannot reasonably expect to attain any results of value. But it is different with the choice of a passage or a text. Any passage, provided it is of sufficient extent to give an adequate collection of variants, ought to provide a fair test of method. And although it is of course true that the manuscripts of a particular text may present an insoluble problem, which may become soluble when further manuscripts are discovered, it is generally legitimate to assume that a method that fails over a restricted field is hardly likely to be more successful over an extended one.

At the same time I am bound to say that Mr. Shepard's writing does not inspire me with complete confidence. I find it a little difficult to believe that he possesses either a thorough understanding of the theories he discusses or the precision of thought and expression necessary to deal adequately with an admittedly difficult subject. At least, as regards my so-called *Calculus*, I wish to say politely but quite

¹ *Mod. Phil.*, XXVIII, 129 ff.

firmly that I cannot accept his remarks as affording an accurate (let alone an adequate) account. Let me particularize.

In the first place, his statements regarding my symbols are inaccurate. Speaking of the "archetype" he says (p. 134): "To express the relation of this hypothetical x to the preserved manuscripts, he prefers to use an algebraic formula, thus, $(x) A (AB) (CD) (EF)$ "; and elsewhere (p. 135, n. 1): "Mr. Greg uses A' as a symbol for 'archetype.'" This is not so. A (roman) is an extant manuscript (as the formula shows) and cannot also stand for "archetype," neither is the (x) in my formula a "hypothetical x " also standing for "archetype." In my notation A (italic) stands for *ancestor* and xA for *exclusive common ancestor* or immediate archetype, while $(x)A'$. . . asserts the existence of a common ancestor of the complex group of all manuscripts and exclusive common ancestors of the various subgroups indicated, and thus defines their relation.

Next, discussing my grouping of manuscripts, he writes (p. 134): "If the grouping is predominantly $\Sigma:AB$ or $\Sigma:CD$ or $\Sigma:EF$, then the three groups, say x, y, z , are all derived independently from the archetype A ." Now, before anything can follow at all, we require, not the disjunction "predominantly $\Sigma:AB$ or $\Sigma:CD$ or $\Sigma:EF$ " (which would be satisfied by the predominant occurrence of any one of the three formulas), but the conjunction "almost exclusively $\Sigma:AB$ and $\Sigma:CD$ and $\Sigma:EF$." Even from this it does not follow that each of the pairs AB and CD and EF has an exclusive common ancestor, x, y, z . For these variational groups would, for instance, equally arise from the genetic grouping $(x)A'[A][B][(CD)(EF)]$. Still less does it follow that x, y, z are "all independently derived from the archetype," for the "ambiguity of three texts" precludes any such inference.

On page 138 Mr. Shepard gives a diagram or stemma and what he conceives to be the corresponding formula in my notation. The former, however, apparently involves conflation, and this, as I endeavored to make clear, is a relation to which my method is inapplicable and which cannot be expressed in my notation; the formula given implies a quite different stemma.

Lastly, he mentions a case in which my method failed to yield any result at all, and adds (p. 140): "The only deduction permissible, it seemed to me, was that no two of the manuscripts derive from a com-

mon source." Now on the face of it this is not sense. Since the manuscripts are all of one work any two of them must have a common source in the author's original. What Mr. Shepard presumably means is that each manuscript is independently derived from the common source. But it happens that this arrangement is one of the very few that are almost exactly provable by the "Calculus" (pp. 21-22). Except for a minor ambiguity it follows from the presence of all Type-1 variants (*variantes à témoin unique*) and the absence of any higher types. But I very much doubt whether this is what Mr. Shepard found. Presumably he was faced with a prevalence of inconsistent groupings, and from that the "only deduction permissible" is the presence of conflation.

I do not quite understand Mr. Shepard's objection to what he calls "dichotomous stemmata." After showing that the great majority of those constructed by editors are of this type, he remarks (p. 131): "Of course, it is exceedingly unlikely that only two copies of a medieval text were made originally; the dichotomy must be due to the method." This is a really astounding remark, for of course the stemma tells us nothing whatever about how many copies were originally made, but only about the relation of those that survive. Prevalent dichotomy is merely due to decimation. If among a large number of surviving manuscripts of a given work there is an absence of ancestral relation (as is almost always the case), I think it follows that there will be a general absence of any but dichotomous grouping. Stemmata of this type are just what, in the great majority of cases, I should expect to find.

I have made no study of Dom Quentin's method, and it is perhaps impertinent for me to remark upon it. I suspect, however, that it involves what I have called the fallacy of "constant variation," and even apart from this I should doubt whether it can be trusted to arrive at correct results. It seems to me too mechanical in its application. The same objection has, I believe, been brought against my *Calculus*; not, however, with reason. All that it pretends to do is to group variants in the form in which they are most conveniently handled. It examines the mechanism of transmission and seeks thereby to show the truth of a few inferences and the falseness of many others. In the existence of any mechanical law for the reconstruction of texts I pro-

foundly disbelieve, and I have certainly never claimed to have discovered anything of the sort.

The final paragraph of Mr. Shepard's article touches upon wider speculations, which it would be interesting to pursue were life a little longer than it is. But I doubt whether *Gestaltpsychologie* and mechanistic theory are really relevant to the discussion. All that need be said is that a logical calculus can deal with variants just so far as they are random. In so far as the differences which a scribe introduces in making a copy of a text are fortuitous, or at least unconditioned by circumstances likely to recur, it should be possible for a quasi-mathematical formula to help in reconstructing the process. Whenever this condition is not fulfilled you get some form of contamination or conflation appearing, which prevents the application of any strictly logical method. (I endeavored in my *Calculus* to meet this by introducing a postulate of "spontaneous variation," but this should have been given a somewhat wider application.) It is only because in most cases variants are in effect fortuitous, and psychological determination negligible, that textual criticism is able to grasp, however feebly, at that objective method, without which it is what Housman has admirably described as "a dog hunting for fleas."

W. W. GREG

LONDON

A HYPOTHESIS CONCERNING THE ALLITERATIVE REVIVAL

SOME sentences from an article by Professor Samuel Moore make the best statement of the problem which I wish to consider here. "One of the most remarkable episodes in early English literary history," he says, "is the revival of alliterative poetry. After remaining for more than a hundred years so completely out of fashion that we have not a single piece of alliterative verse that we can date between 1250 and 1350¹ it suddenly springs up and achieves an extraordinary vogue." Professor Moore then lists several poems and continues: "And the noteworthy fact is that this vogue was not achieved through the patronage of the court, that alliterative verse was recognized as being a literary genre that was foreign to the south of England, and that all the poems I have named were written in the west or northwest of England, in a dialect remote from that of the court."²

The solution of the problem offered rather tentatively by Professor Moore, that this poetry was produced under the patronage of a group of people "similar to that which we have found in East Anglia in the middle of the fifteenth" century, may be correct. But it does not fit perfectly some of the conditions of an ideal solution. The East Anglian patrons were provincial gentry, and the poetry written for them is of the simple, rather prosaic sort which one would expect. On the other hand, *Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight* and *The Awntyrs of Arthure* are sophisticated, highly artistic, worthy in every respect of the most courtly poet and audience. Moreover, such an explanation will not account for the outlandish language in which they are written, for it is hard to believe that the skilful poets who composed those poems could not use the language of London. Of course we are dealing with theories and are in possession of very few facts. Hence Professor Moore's theory must be given serious attention. But if we can find a

¹ Evidently Professor Moore had in mind only unrhymed long lines. Many of the poems in Harley 2253, which fall within that period, show use of alliterative lines rhymed in stanzas.

² *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXVIII (1913), 103-4.

set of circumstances which meets every requirement of the problem, a hypothesis based on them would clearly be preferable.

The requirements, as I see them, are these: (1) an audience as courtly and as wealthy as any in England; (2) the deliberate choice of a form of English unlike that of London and full of archaisms; (3) the choice of a meter not used by poets of the royal court. All these requirements, however, can be met, and we can get a logical understanding of what happened, *if* we find a great noble, or group of nobles, in opposition to the royal court and seeking to foster a form of literature more truly "English" than that prevailing in London. I suggest that the "baronial opposition" which existed in England from the time of King John meets these requirements. It will be seen as I proceed, moreover, that this theory agrees with the one certain fact which we know concerning patronage of an alliterative poet and with the current belief of a western (though perhaps not north or mid-western) location of the "school" of alliterative poetry.¹

As everyone knows something about baronial opposition in the time of King John and later, I shall not attempt a historical account of it, but shall merely summarize some main points from *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II* by James Conway Davies.² According to this scholar, before Henry II the main aim of the baronial opposition was "to obtain more local independence in development of the separatist tendencies of feudalism." But "the strong centralized organization built up by Henry II ended all hopes of ultimate success in that direction." The barons then tried to obtain

a voice in the new central organization which was developing.³ . . . The primary object of the baronial opposition was to break down the system of government which has been called the household or the personal system.

¹ Some years ago I attempted to reach a solution of this problem by means of dialect but came to the conclusion that the evidence is unsatisfactory. To this opinion (expressed in an article published in *Mod. Phil.*, XIX, 1-16) Professor Menner replied in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXVII (1922), 503-26. Using some of Professor Menner's tests but adding many others, Dr. J. P. Oakden (in his *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, Manchester, 1930) has shown that all available evidence (and it is a considerable amount) confirms the old judgment that the language of most of the alliterative poems of the fourteenth century is northwest midland. For his suggestion that the Green Knight's castle is Clitheroe, however, the evidence that he has given is unconvincing (*ibid.*, pp. 257 ff). Several years ago I made an effort to locate not only *Gawain* but other alliterative poems by studying the castles of the district, without success. It is certainly curious that no castle near to the incontestable country of the *Avntys of Arthure* has any apparent connection with that poem. Perhaps some other student will have better luck than I have experienced.

² Cambridge, 1918.

³ Pp. 343 ff.

. . . . They sought to re-organize the council and by a reformed council with themselves in command to influence the king and control the administration.¹ The aims of the policy were not constitutional, they were to a considerable extent personal, which was but another way of stating that they were oligarchical. Nor was the baronial opposition of Edward II the last phase of this particular policy. It continued until the Wars of the Roses.²

In other words, we are not to think of the barons of the fourteenth century as merely ornaments of the royal court (as they became in later times). They were proponents of a view of government radically different from that which the kings held. According to this view, they should rule *with* the king, they should occupy the chief offices of state and should have a voice in deciding all problems of public policy. From King John's time through Richard II's their opposition to the king was never aimed at the general good of the people, had no democratic purpose, but was an assertion of their rights as a class to rule *with* the king and to restrain him if he acted against their wishes. Historians interested in the growth of the constitution have emphasized their contribution to that growth, but have not stated clearly their entirely selfish motives. The constitutional historian's emphasis has made it difficult, also, to understand why Richard II and Edward II were overthrown. We see now that the reason for the unhappy fate of these monarchs was not that they were vicious or especially incompetent, but that they were unwilling to rule as the barons desired and were not strong enough to hold their own against baronial opposition.

Mr. Davies shows in detail the ideas and the methods of the barons during Edward II's reign. In Edward III's time there is less evidence of baronial opposition, and scholars are not agreed as to the interpretation of the facts. Thus in a recent study of the political crisis of 1341, we are told that the letter sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the king "was emphatically an appeal for a baronial council, as opposed to one which contained the royal clerks and secre-

¹ P. 351.

² P. 344. K. H. Vickers, in *England in the Later Middle Ages*, points out that the work of the Ordainers in 1311 was aimed at limiting the power of the king by Parliament, which to them meant the baronage. "The whole tone of the articles was oligarchical, and breathed the spirit of a narrow clique" (p. 93). He also discusses baronial opposition to Edward I (pp. 71-73). More recently T. F. Tout in his *Chapters in Medieval Administrative History* has traced the opposition of the baronage to royal bureaucratic government, to the end of the reign of Richard II. See esp. II, 84, 150-53, 188 f., 194; III, 127, 132, 134, 136-37; III, 327, 398, 409 f.; IV, 5, 32, etc.

taries; dictated in the spirit which, in Henry II's reign, had criticised the advisers whom the king 'had raised from the dust,' it contained a thinly veiled threat with regard to Edward's supposed tendencies towards a benevolent despotism."¹ The Archbishop, we are told, "meant to organize a baronial opposition to the ministerial policy of the King."² "A petition in 1343 asked that the Chancellor and Treasurers be always peers of the land."³ Finally, "the temporary victory which resulted was won chiefly in the interests of a baronial and ecclesiastical oligarchy."⁴ But a more recent writer reaches entirely different conclusions.⁵ His views, however, recognize a continual struggle between king and baronage, throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries:

The failure of Edward III. meant the triumph of the baronage: later it was to lead to a change of dynasty, and finally to civil war. Meanwhile it revolutionised the relations between the barons and the king, which Edward had maintained in the years of his ascendancy in the middle of his reign. In those years Edward had done much to conciliate, but nothing to destroy, the power of the baronage, which was as formidable at the end as at the beginning of his reign; but his policy had also done much to give the barons that influence in the government which had been consistently their ideal since the time of King John. Edward II. had distrusted and opposed his barons and sheltered his prerogative behind the "triple rampart" of his household; Edward III. threw in his lot with his baronage and based his power on the council which he chose mainly from their ranks. The middle years of Edward III. witnessed indeed for the baronage the triumph of their most cherished constitutional ideal. They obtained from the conciliatory policy of Edward III. what they could never extort, in spite of all his weakness, from the hostility of Edward II. They obtained that place on the royal council which they never really lost until the days of Henry VII.⁶

Finally, another recent writer observes: "The struggle of the king against the barons who wish to wrest the government of the kingdom from him, appears to us today as the essential factor in the history of England from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century."⁷

¹ Dorothy Hughes, *A Study of Social and Constitutional Tendencies in the Early Years of Edward III* (London, 1915), p. 121.

² *Ibid.*, p. 137.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144; see also T. F. Tout, *op. cit.*, III, 127.

⁵ B. Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III* (Manchester, 1929), p. 183 n.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

⁷ G. Lefebvre, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, III (Manchester, 1929), 352. For a general survey of baronial opposition from the thirteenth century on see pp. 410-30.

With the general facts of Richard II's reign nearly everyone is familiar. In part at least as a result of a political contest in the last years of Edward III between the administration and the barons, a baronial council was appointed to govern England during the minority of the king. Within a few years, however, the royal household had gained control of government; then in 1386 the "lords appellant" collected a force, which met with no opposition, and took over the government according to baronial theory. The royal administrators had really not been inefficient or predatory: the only real objection to Michael de la Pole and Simon Burley was that they had conducted business on a theory of royal prerogative. Professor Vickers makes clear the character of the opposition to Richard II in 1384:

Opposed . . . stood the baronial party now headed by Thomas of Woodstock and the Earl of Arundel. . . . The former's influence as the youngest son of Edward III had been increased by his marriage to one of the co-heiresses of the Bohun family. . . . Turbulent and unscrupulous, caring for nothing save the advancement of his own ambitions, the spiritual successor of Thomas of Lancaster, he became the leader of the new feudal party, which having cast off its ideas of feudal independence, was now bent on capturing the central government.¹

Under his control "the opposition was bent on breaking up the bureaucracy controlled by the king, and substituting an aristocratic oligarchy in its stead."²

That the barons through the fourteenth century were "historically conscious," that they kept up a tradition of opposition to government by the royal household and a theory of their own rightful position and function is abundantly clear. Mr. Davies writes: "The precedents of opposition upon which the barons of the reign of Edward II acted were fully recognized. Especially was the opposition of Simon de Montfort to Henry III noted."³ For the next reign Miss Hughes remarks of a certain request that it "recalls a similar provision of the Ordinances of 1311 for the appointment of persons to hear complaints against the royal officials, and the demands as a whole were virtually a return to the position of the barons of 1215 and 1258, an attempt to create an oligarchical tribunal as a check upon the Crown itself for the safeguard of privilege and franchise."⁴ Finally, in Richard II's

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 268.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 344.

² *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

time, Mr. Davies states that "the precedents of Edward [III]'s reign were searched and discussed."¹ On one occasion the Duke of Gloucester threatened Richard II with the fate of Edward II.²

Moreover, members of the same great families were leaders of the baronial opposition in Richard II's time and in Edward II's. The chief of the group in Edward II's reign, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, must be ruled out because he left no descendants. Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, of the later period, however, though a son of Edward III and therefore not derived from a baronial family was married to a daughter and co-heiress of the last Earl of Hereford. Associated with Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, in Edward II's time were the earls of Arundel, Hereford, and Warwick (and in the last part of the reign Roger Mortimer, finally Earl of March); associated with Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, in Richard II's reign were the earls of Arundel and Warwick, members of the same families. (The Earl of March, however, was a minor at the time and so does not appear. In 1376-77 Edmund, Earl of March, was a leader of the party opposed to John of Gaunt and the royal administration of the last years of Edward III.)³ The families of the other leaders of Edward II's reign, the earls of Pembroke, Hereford, Gloucester, Richmond, and Warenne, had died out.

Of the three families⁴ whose names appear in the opposition to the two unhappy kings I shall say nothing of Arundel because I have found no evidence which would link that family with the literary movement which we are considering. Moreover, the elder Earl of Arundel was not constant in his association with the barons and was executed as a partisan of the king. The other two families (the Bohuns

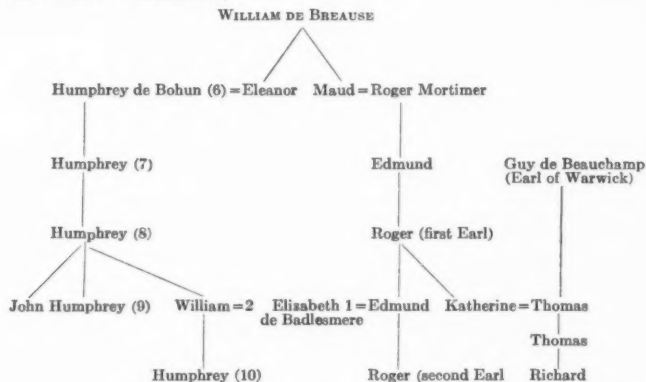
¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 496. He says that "the varying circumstances make any profound similarity [between the conditions of Edward II's and those of Richard II's time] almost impossible." As he does not develop the point I don't know just what he means. But I take it that he would not deny general similarity. Elsewhere he says, "The lords appellants of Richard II's reign and their action had a considerable resemblance to the 'ordainers' of 1310-1311" (p. 466; see also p. 344, quoted above, p. 409).

² C. Oman, *History of England, 1377-1485*, p. 102; Sir J. H. Ramsay, *The Genesis of Lancaster*, I, 238.

³ It seems unnecessary to give references for such statements as the foregoing. They are well-known historical facts, which can be verified in Dugdale's *Baronage*, modern histories, encyclopedias, etc., not to speak of the original authorities, the records, and chronicles.

⁴ I include the Bohuns (earls of Hereford) because of the marriage of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, to the heiress of that family. One of the leaders of baronial opposition to Edward I was a Bohun (Vickers, *op. cit.*, p. 72).

and the Beauchamps), however, are connected with each other and with the Mortimers, not only in politics, but in close personal relationships and in neighborhood. Thus, on the accession of Edward III, Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was placed under the guardianship of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and later he married Roger's daughter, Katherine. On the other hand, William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, married the widow of Edmund Mortimer, son of Roger Mortimer. William was the fifth son of the eighth Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, and was father of the last Humphrey, Earl of Hereford. A relationship had existed indeed for a long time, for in Edward I's reign the sixth Humphrey de Bohun and Roger Mortimer, grandfather of the first Earl of March, had married sisters. Thus all three of these families were related in blood; the later earls of Warwick were descended on the mother's side from Roger Mortimer, and the last Earl of Hereford was half-brother to the second Earl of March. Related in blood and associated in political opinions, these families are found in practically every move made by the barons against the royal administration. A reading of Dugdale's account of the Bohun family, in his *Baronage*, for example, brings out this constant policy of the earls of Hereford.



These families, also, were located in the same part of England; the earls of Hereford and the Mortimers were lords of the march of Wales, both having estates in Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and Wales, and making common cause against Welsh insurrections and the territorial

aspirations of Hugh Despenser. The earls of Warwick, though apparently not so concerned with the conditions on the march, had their seats not far away in Warwickshire.

Let us now look at the poems written in the unrhymed alliterative long line and see the reasons for connecting their appearance with the baronial opposition and in particular with some eminent families associated in that opposition. In the first place, the style and manner of these poems indicate that they were written for a cultivated audience. Such works as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and the *Awntyrs of Arthure* are condensed and allusive in style; and they are developed artistically, with pointed description. If one contrasts them with such a romance as *Syr Isumbrace*, with its trite, vague phrasing, and its plot so undeveloped that the inconsistencies in it seem absurd, one realizes how refined was the audience for which the alliterative poems were developed. Moreover, the vocabulary is unsuited to a bourgeois public; apparently many of the words were no longer in ordinary usage but were archaic parts of a purely poetic vocabulary.¹ Groups of barons and ladies, trained to appreciation of many arts, could acquire a knowledge of these archaic words and like them because through their historic, national associations the nobles would feel themselves in an atmosphere patriotic and at the same time distinct from that of the court.

Likewise the material of these poems is adapted to a baronial audience. One does not, to be sure, find in them political propaganda; the aim in these works, as part of the baronial opposition, would be not to arouse readers against the royal administration, but to contribute to a cultural development independent of the court, and to make the barons' castles centers of social activity. The barons would wish to foster a literature which expressed English interests and traditions. If we contrast these works with the early writings of a court poet, Chaucer, we can see that to the English nobility his work must have seemed decidedly French; his meters were French (especially the ballades, roundels, etc.); even the four-stress verse was not associated with the oldest English traditions; and his materials were French—a point that needs no argument since it has been amply proved by the

¹ See August Brink, *Stab und Wort im Gawain*, Halle A.S., 1920.

studies of Professors Kittredge and Lowes. On the other hand, the material of the alliterative works is English social and religious conditions (*Piers the Plowman*, *Winner and Waster*), English traditional history (*Morte Arthure*, *Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight*, *Golagros and Gawayne*, *Joseph of Arimathie*, *The Awntyrs of Arthure*, *St. Erkenwald*), classical romances (the *Alexander* poems, the *Destruction of Troy*), and three miscellaneous romances (*Sege of Jerusalem*, *William of Palerne*, *Chevalier Assigne*).

Of these groups, *Piers the Plowman* and *Winner and Waster* certainly are not specifically baronial in their interest. The A text of *Piers* seems to be interested largely in the social condition of England as a whole and particularly of the common folk; B (after the first eight passus) seems to be interested chiefly in theology. Both attack the friars, of whom the barons were great patrons (as shown by their wills and the records of their grants to houses of friars). It may be therefore that *Piers the Plowman* is merely the culmination of a popular literature which had kept the tradition of the alliterative long line through the centuries; it may be that its authors adopted their verse form from the first poems of the alliterative revival;¹ it may be that the barons were clever enough to foster a poetry which would arouse people to thought about political conditions and moral betterment and so gain aid for the baronial opposition in any attack on the corruptions and usurpations of the royal house. That they had followed this policy in earlier times is certain from the political songs of Henry III's time. Of these Thomas Wright says: "It is remarkable that all the songs of this period which we know, whether in Latin, Anglo-Norman, or English, are on the popular [i.e., baronial] side of the dispute—all with one accord agree in their praise and support of the great Simon de Montfort."² At any rate, the subject matter of *Piers the Plowman* is decidedly English as compared with that of Chaucer's early work. *Winner and Waster* is somewhat less popular in tone, more nearly adapted to a baronial audience than *Piers*, and is thoroughly English in material.

It is not necessary to discuss at length the appropriateness of the second group (Arthurian romances) to a baronial audience. But it

¹ The first text of *Piers* is chronologically later than *William of Palerne* and perhaps later than some of the other alliterative works.

² *Political Songs*, "Camden Society," p. x.

may be noted that the setting of two of them, the *Awntyrs of Arthure* and *Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight*, is actually baronial. In the former the backgrounds are a forest with a courtly group hunting, and a castle. In the second the main scenes of action are a knight's castle and his hunting ventures in the field. Moreover, the emphasis on description of costumes, on refined manners, on the pageantry of baronial feasts and holiday-making, and on hunting marks these as distinctly baronial. Indeed, one could not conceive of poems more appropriate for reading in the course of a social celebration of some sort at a nobleman's castle than either of these works. In a similar manner, though not to the same degree, a non-Arthurian poem, the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, would fit a baronial pleasure party. In a more general way the *Morte Arthure* would meet the barons' tastes because it gives a thorough account of the English tradition of Arthur.

The other poems lack the special pointedness of the preceding group. But even those of strange foreign setting, classical, Italian, or far eastern, deal in a dignified manner with knightly actions and chivalric characters. If this alliterative literature was to be a complete thing, to satisfy all the interests of a cultivated circle it would need to offer versions of the Troy story and many other famous romances and even to include purely religious and moral works like *Cleanness* and *Patience*. Though such works bear no obvious evidence of baronial interest, there is, on the other hand, nothing in them which would be foreign to baronial taste. In one case, *St. Erkenwald*, the theory here offered gives, as far as I know, the only explanation of what seems a queer contradiction—a story celebrating a London saint but written in a "west midland" dialect.¹ The barons were not limited to the districts in which were their chief homes. They were interested in London and made gifts to religious houses in the capital. Of course the shrine of St. Erkenwald was one of the most famous in St. Paul's, of which the poem itself says, "þe rekenest of þe reame repairen pider oft" (l. 135), and no doubt the writer planned the poem for some patron whom he knew to be attached to the saint and his shrine. The use of the alliterative long line and of the linguistic form usually associated with it would be due simply to the fact that the patron was of the baronial party.

¹ See Gollanca' edition (Oxford, 1922), p. Iviii.

In any consideration of the material of the alliterative poems, it must be realized that only a part of them has survived to us. It is a striking fact that, aside from *Piers the Plowman*,¹ we generally have but one copy of each alliterative poem. The chief exceptions are the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, extant in four copies; the *Sege of Jerusalem*, in seven copies; the *Wars of Alexander*, in two copies; and the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, of which we have a fragmentary second copy. *Sir Gawayn*, *Patience*, *Cleanness*, *Morte Arthure*, *William of Palerne*, and the *Destruction of Troy* are known to us in one version each. An obvious inference is that not many copies were made of the alliterative poems—a fact which can be understood in the light of our theory. The reading public for alliterative literature, though rich and powerful, was not large. Poems like *Sir Gawayn* were written for lords and ladies and, because of their style and language, would be comprehensible to them only. As after 1400 the language of London rapidly became the standard, these poems would be less understandable, and less demand for copies of them would arise. Moreover, the Bohuns died out before the end of the fourteenth century; the Beauchamps and Mortimers early in the fifteenth, and the wars of Henry V's and Henry VI's reigns probably kept the barons too busy to care about fostering the old alliterative literature or about cultivating new works in that form. We must think of the alliterative poems, therefore, as having but small circulation but being much more numerous than they are now. We have as an illustration of this point one curious indication of the existence of a poem now lost, which was probably alliterative. Leland in his *Collectanea* gives an outline of an English poem on Fulk Fitz Warine. From alliterative word groups in this outline Thomas Wright concluded that the poem was composed in the alliterative long line. The evidence seems to me as convincing as could well be. If the poem was in alliteration, we have here a case of a strictly baronial hero, a west country baron, moreover (his chief seat was Ludlow Castle, Shropshire) celebrated in an alliterative poem. Originally his quarrel with King John was perhaps a personal affair, but later he joined the opposition to John and Henry III.²

¹ Explainable because of the wider appeal of its material and the fact that its diction and dialect approach the London speech.

² T. Wright, *The History of Fulk Fitz Warine*, "Warton Club," pp. x, xi. Wright's opinion on the date is, of course, a mere guess. On the historical Fulk see Dugdale's *Baronage* (1675), I, 443 ff.

Before going on to the specific evidences of connection between the barons and the alliterative revival, perhaps I should consider the main objection which can be made to my present suggestions: the fact that the dialect of the poems (aside from *Piers the Plowman* and a few others) seems more northern than the language of Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and Warwickshire.¹ This is undoubtedly true; but it does not seem to me weighty enough to counterbalance the reasons in favor of the views which I am advancing (particularly in consideration of the fact that we generally have but one, faulty copy of each poem). It may be that the northern features are the work of scribes;² it may be that to the poets northern features seemed archaic and that they adopted them as they did words which were no longer in general use; it may be that the poets were actually northern men in the service of the barons. At any rate, in view of the fact that in many cases known to us the language of a manuscript does not truly reflect that of the original, I feel that this difficulty is not decisive.³ Finally, the northern elements form an objection not to the theory of a connection with the baronial opposition, but merely to my suggestion of the particular barons involved. The Mortimers, Bohuns, and Beauchamps seem to me the most probable patrons of the alliterative poets because baronial opposition was a tradition in their families and because some particular evidence (to be mentioned shortly) points to them. But as we may not have the earliest products of the alliterative revival, it may well be that alliterative poetry was revived first in a more northern baron's castle and was sufficiently developed there to have a particular dialectal coloring fixed on it.

Thus not even the northern appearance of the language of these poems is incompatible with the theory that the revival of alliterative verse was due to the baronial opposition. Such a theory provides the cultivated audience implicit in the highly artistic poems produced by the revival; and it accounts for the restoration of the old English metrical form and for the choice of a type of English unlike the speech

¹ See the articles referred to above, p. 406, n. 1. Note, however, that linguists place some of these poems in the southwest, e.g., the twelfth-century *Body and Soul*, which may have been a link between Old English and the alliterative revival, and *Alexander and Dindimus*.

² Professor Menner evidently believes this impossible (cf. *PMLA*, XXXVII, 515-16).

³ E.g., consider the difference between the Lambeth text and Thornton's version of the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, or the *Vision of the Rood*, in manuscript and inscription.

of London and (in the romances especially) full of archaic words of distinctly national flavor.¹ One can conceive other theories, as, for example, that the movement was started by some genius with an archaeologist's tastes and that his successful work was imitated by others, but in that case one is confronted by the question, Where did he and his successors find an audience at once courtly and refined and yet able and willing to read (or hear read) writings in a strange dialect and unusual meter? The theory of baronial opposition, on the other hand, meets all requirements and explains them, giving to this resurrection of an old meter and choice of non-London dialect and archaic diction a meaning.

Not only do these general considerations make the theory which I am suggesting probable, but there is some specific evidence which makes it seem likely that the families most closely related to the baronial opposition may have been connected with the alliterative revival. The evidence indicates (1) that these barons had an interest in the old national legend, that they associated themselves with Arthur and made some attempts at reviving customs which they thought ancient; (2) that they did things which suggest an association with *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*; and (3) that some of them at least were interested in books and patronized literature.

The first of these evidences is a queer one, but it may have some pertinence. According to Walsingham, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the leader of the opposition to Edward II, when brought as a captive into the town of Pontefract "was scorned and by the people, in derision, called King Arthur."² This would seem a pointless insult unless Thomas in some way had associated himself with Arthur. More decisive are the references to the round tables held by the Mortimers. At least twice the heads of this family held round tables, once in Edward I's reign and again in the second year of Edward III's. The earlier Roger Mortimer is the first person who is known to have held

¹ If the question, why did not such a revival take place earlier than 1350, should arise, the obvious answer would be that before that date the barons and ladies were entertained by French literature. We have well-known evidence that not until the middle of the fourteenth century did the upper classes begin to use English in schools, courts, and Parliament.

² Dugdale, *Baronage*, p. 781.

such festivities.¹ From the detailed descriptions of the first of those round tables it is clear that they combined jousting, feasting, and dancing. According to one chronicler, Roger Mortimer set out from London with a hundred knights and a hundred ladies, and proceeded singing gay songs to Kenilworth.² The chroniclers state that the term "round table" was derived from the fact that the place of jousting was surrounded by a round wall; but as that fact does not account for the use of the word "table," an association with Arthur is fairly certain.³ Of the round table held in 2 Edward III at Bedford by Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, I have been unable to find any description. Not only the round table but the color green, reminding one of the Green Knight in *Sir Gawain*, is associated at least once with the nobles who took part in the baronial opposition. According to Dugdale, in 14 Edward II, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Roger Mortimer, Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and other discontented barons marched on London, "they being all cloathed in Green, but their right hands Yellow."⁴

The next thing (I don't know whether to call it an evidence or not) is derived from a manuscript book, written, according to the opinion of its most recent editors, in 1485-90. It has commonly been supposed to be the work of John Rous, who was attached to the earls of Warwick and died in 1491, but that ascription (according to the editors) "cannot be proved."⁵ In a series of remarkable outline drawings with rather full legends attached, this manuscript surveys the life of the last Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (b. 1381, according to the editors; d. 1439). After having led an adventurous life (performing a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and taking part in many tournaments) he returned to England in 1414 and was appointed captain of Calais. The next episode in his life is the one which concerns us. Having heard of a greet gaderyng in Fraunce . . . he cast in his mynde to do some newe poynt of chevalry. Wheruppon he lete paynt iij pavises & in every pavise a

¹ Matthew Paris gives a statement about a *mensa rotunda* held near the Abbey of Wallenden in 1252, but he names none of the participants.

² Chronicle of the Monastery of Hales, in Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, p. 147.

³ Note also that the holding of a round table was a preliminary to the founding of the Order of the Garter, which was explicitly connected with Arthur. I have referred previously to these round tables (see *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 142).

⁴ Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 144. Dugdale prints the Latin text in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

⁵ *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G.*, ed. Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope (London, 1914), p. vi.

lady the first harpyng atte ende of a bedstede w^a grate of gold on her lifte sleve/ & her knyght called the grene knyght w^a blakke quarter And he shulde be redy to Just w^t eny knyght of Fraunce xij co^rses and ij shildes shulde be of purviance/ And that knyghtes lettre was sealed w^t the seale of his Armes. the felde sylver a maunche gowlys. The secound Pavys hadde a lady sittynge at a covered borde. worchyng perles/ and on her sleve was tached a glove of plate/ And her knyght was called Chevaler vert/ And his lettre was sealed w^t the Armes. the felde sylver and ij barres of gowles/ And he must just xv courses and that shulde be ij sadilles of choyes/ The iij^{de} pavys a lady sittynge in a gardeyn makyng a Chapellet/ And on her sleve, a poleyn w^t a Rivet/ her knyght was called Chivaler attendant/ And he & his felowe must renne x cours w^t sharpe speres & w^t out sheldys/ his lettre was sealed w^t golde & gowles quarte a bordour of vere.¹

Two of the knights who accepted the challenges called themselves "Chevaler Rouge" and "chivaler Blanke"; the third had no pseudonym. The narrative continues with an account of the joustings, in the course of which it explains the three armorial devices as those of the Earl's ancestors (Tony, Mauduit of Hanslope, and Guy [Newburgh]).² The Earl won from each of the contestants and gave them valuable presents.

As far as I know this curious episode has never been explained, and of course I can't explain it in detail. The fact that the Earl used not his own arms but those of some of his ancestors³ suggests that his appellations, the "green knight" (in English and French) and the "attending knight," were also traditional in his family. The details about the ladies do not agree with anything in *Sir Gawain*, but the association of the lady and the bedstead on the first shield is certainly suggestive of that poem. Whatever the real meaning of these facts may be (and they are so exact and yet so meaningless in appearance that it is not likely that the manuscript-writer invented them), I cannot believe that they are not in some way a reminiscence of the poem or some family custom which the poem celebrated.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-54.

² These actually were among the Earl's ancestors; see the genealogical table in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, p. 311.

³ On the last day, however, he actually wore "Gy ys armes and Beauchamps quarterly/ and the armes also of Tony and Haunslope in his trappours" (*op. cit.*, pp. 61-62).

⁴ It may be merely a chance, but it is at any rate a fact that in the pictures the Earl and his father are shown wearing jeweled baldrics (see *op. cit.*, plates opp. pp. 5, 24, 49.) Moreover, in view of the poet's attitude toward Gawain in the poem and the phrase he applies to him, "fader of nurture" (l. 919), it is an interesting coincidence that this Earl of Warwick was called "fadre of Curtelisy" (*op. cit.*, pp. 69-70).

One other detail may be pertinent. There was a castle built on an eminence at the present Henley-in-Arden, Warwickshire, which was named Beaudesert (or Beldesert). It seems to have been built in the twelfth century and had long been in the possession of a family of Montforts. In 35 Edward III, however, it passed by marriage into the family of Thomas, Earl of Warwick. Later (about 9 Richard II) a dispute arose as to the ownership of Beaudesert, and it seems to have passed out of Earl Thomas' possession.¹ It may be that the Hautdesert of the poem is an intentional slight alteration of Beaudesert.²

To pass now to the indications of an interest in books among these families. I have found no evidence of such an interest among the Mortimers. Any opinion that they were related to the alliterative revival (unless new evidence appears) must be based on their connection with the baronial opposition, their round tables, a single use of green, and the fact that if *Sir Gawayn* was written after 1386, the mention of the Duke of Clarence in it must have meant to most readers a compliment to the contemporary Mortimer, Earl of March.³

The Beauchamps, however, did possess books. William de Beauchamp, father of the first Earl of Warwick, in his will, dated January 7, 1269, bequeathed a Launcelot.⁴ Of Guy, Earl of Warwick, Professor Tout says:

All that we can say in his favour is that the wise old earl of Lincoln had so high an opinion of him that he advised his son-in-law, earl Thomas, to be directed by his counsels. The chroniclers also claim for him a knowledge of literature seldom found in the higher nobility of his age. This aspect of Guy of Warwick, combined with his treachery, reminds us of the cultivated aristocratic ruffians of the Renaissance.⁵

We have evidence that he possessed "a little hoard of romances, and some other books."⁶ His daughter, Maud de Say, who died in 1369, mentions in her will her books in French and Latin.⁷

¹ Concerning the castle in general see Dugdale's *Baronage*, II, 407, 410, 727; *Victoria History of Warwickshire*, I, 244; S. Timmins, *History of Warwickshire*, pp. 66, 235, 238. As to its ownership see Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, pp. 591 ff.

² See my article in *Manly Anniversary Studies*, pp. 15-16.

³ See *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 142. ⁴ N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 51.

⁵ *The Place of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914), p. 17. Professor Tout in a note quotes: "virum sapientem et probum" (Lanercost, p. 216); "homo discretus et bene literatus per quem totum regnum Angliae sapientia praefulgebatur" (*Ann. Lond.*, p. 230). Cf. Malmesbury, p. 212.

⁶ E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries* (Chicago, 1912), pp. 177, 228.

⁷ Nicolas, *op. cit.*, I, 83.

The evidence for an association of the Bohuns with letters is better still. Margaret, Countess of Devonshire, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in her will (1391) mentions two primers and "a book called Arture of Bretaine."¹ The will of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford (1399), gives the most extensive list of books I have found: a chronicle of France in French; Giles's *De regimine principum*; a book of vices and virtues, *Historie de chivaler a cigne*, rhymed, all in French; a psalter; a book of *Meistre histories*; and several religious works.² Finally, we know that in two cases earls of Hereford did patronize literature. In fact, the only alliterative poem of which the patron is known was written for the sixth Earl of Hereford. In two passages the writer of the English version of *William of Palerne* states that Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, "king Edwardes newe ['The gode king Edwardes douter was his dere moder'] this fayre tale ferst dede translate ['gart this do make']."³ These statements identify the Earl as the sixth Earl of Hereford, whose mother was a daughter of Edward II and who was therefore nephew of Edward III. He was earl between 1336 and 1361, when he died without issue.⁴ To his nephew and successor, the seventh Earl, was dedicated the Latin political satire now called *John of Bridlington* from the name of the supposed author of the central part of it. The seventh Earl is identified by the fact that he is saluted as Earl of Northampton as well as of Hereford; this Earl inherited the former title from his father and the latter from his uncle. He held the titles from 1361 to 1372.⁵ As might have been expected, in this satire Edward III is criticized for the faults of his late years, and especially for despoiling the baronage.⁶

Whether these three families had an important relation to the alliterative revival or not is relatively a secondary question. I have emphasized the possibility that they did have because of the indications or evidences discussed above, and because I have found no data which suggest any other family as important. Certainly an Earl of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 146 ff.

³ See Skeat's edition of the poem (*E.E.T.S.*, "Extra Series," Vol. I), pp. ix-x.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. ix-xiii.

⁵ See Thomas Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, "Rolls Series," I, 123.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

Hereford did patronize one alliterative versifier (and at a date which makes the poem concerned one of the earliest in the "revival"). But, of course, the nobles for whom other poems were composed may have been connected with families which I have not discussed.¹ In any case, it seems to me probable that they were connected with the baronial opposition. The theory that the alliterative revival was fostered by the baronial opposition makes the movement completely understandable and meets all the requirements of a good hypothesis for the facts, in that it accounts for (1) the courtliness of tone, (2) the choice of a form of English unlike that of London and rich in archaic words, and (3) the use of the old national meter in preference to the forms used in court and in the bourgeois literature of the time.

JAMES R. HULBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ E.g., the Berkeleys may have had something to do with the matter. The third Lord Berkeley was associated with the lords ordainers in Edward II's time, and he married his eldest son to a daughter of Roger Mortimer (from this marriage the later lords of Berkeley were descended). He is said to have possessed "one book of the law, called Breton, the Legend of Saints, and divers others of great value" (Fosbroke, *Extracts from Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys*, p. 117). His son and heir was also a member of the baronial opposition; after his father's death Edward II was imprisoned and murdered in the castle of Berkeley. At the request of one of his descendants, Sir Thomas Berkeley, John Trevisa made in 1387 his translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, I, 338, 343). Later, his daughter Elizabeth patronized John Walton (see the edition of his translation of Boethius, *E.E.T.S.*, No. 170, p. xlvi). Finally, a family connected by marriage with the Berkeleys, Kingscote of Kingscote in Gloucestershire, had as its arms: argent, ten escallops sable, on a canton gules a mullet pierced or (Fosbroke, *op. cit.*, pedigree opp. p. 218). This mullet may be the pentangle of Sir Gawain (see *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 721 ff., esp. p. 728).

THE PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN FIELDING
AND RICHARDSON

THE contrast between Fielding and Richardson is one of the most hackneyed in literary history, but it is not so obvious as is sometimes supposed, and M. Digeon has suggested that the accepted account needs modification.¹ To the eighteenth-century preference for Richardson has succeeded an aggressive modern defense of Fielding, but what is needed just now is neither attack nor defense, but simply a dispassionate survey of the situation. To this end some facts which may be helpful in a final judgment should be put on record.

In the course of printing the theatrical periodical called the *Prompter* for his friend Aaron Hill, Richardson must have followed at least casually Fielding's career in the drama, and as printer of the chief Walpole organ, the *Gazetteer*, he was certainly aware of Fielding's antiministerial campaign in the *Champion*. During the year 1741 he was engaged in an advertising war against the booksellers Ward and Chandler, who were publishing John Kelly's spurious continuation of *Pamela* under the title of *Pamela in High Life*. The hostility of the *Champion* and the *Gazetteer* is reflected even in these advertisements. At times Richardson's announcements make special reference to his opponents' advertising in the *Champion*, as in a note prefixed to a statement of July 11: "Fresh Irruptions of Scandal and Impertinence in the honest *High Life Men*, as advertis'd in the *Champion* of July 7, make it necessary to re-publish this Advertisement."² How far is Fielding to be connected with the advertising policy of the *Champion*? We must remain uncertain, and we do not know Richardson's opinion in the matter. Fielding, at any rate, followed the whole affair of the sequel to *Pamela* with considerable amusement, and referred to it in the concluding sentence of *Joseph Andrews*: "The happiness of this

¹ "Autour de Fielding," *Revue germanique*, XI (1920-21), 209-19.

² *Daily Gazetteer*, July 11, 1741. See also Richardson's advertisement in the issue of June 1.

couple is a perpetual fountain of pleasure to their fond parents; and what is particularly remarkable, he declares he will imitate them in their retirement; nor will be prevailed on by any booksellers, or their authors, to make his appearance in HIGH LIFE." And when he attacked the *Gazetteer* in one of the inn scenes of *Joseph Andrews*,¹ he may have incidentally had it in mind that Samuel Richardson printed the paper.

More certain matter of offense appears in *Shamela*, which was published in April, 1741. Aaron Hill, always jealous for Richardson's reputation, evidently refers to *Shamela* when he complains on April 13 of "the oblique reputation weaker writers endeavour to draw, from a distorted misuse of her [Pamela's] name, for a passport to malice and faction."² The author of *Shamela*, as Dobson pointed out, seems to have thought at the time that Cibber was the "editor" of *Pamela*,³ but Richardson, in all probability, was soon informed that this most trenchant of the anti-*Pamelas* of 1741 was Henry Fielding's work. His note to this effect in the papers preserved at South Kensington is in his later hand,⁴ but Dampier's letter of July 30, 1741, shows that the attribution to Fielding was town talk at that date.⁵ In the printed catalogue of books and copyrights offered at the bankruptcy sale of the bookseller Francis Cogan, July 10, 1746, his half-interest in "Shamela, by Fielding" was sold to Andrew Millar at a very low price.⁶ If there are any lingering doubts about the authorship of *Shamela*, this entry may help to dispel them. The "trade" knew that the book was Fielding's, and Richardson was well versed in booksellers' gossip.

Although *Joseph Andrews* was published anonymously in February, 1742, Richardson knew even before the book appeared what it was and who was writing it. In that month Dr. George Cheyne wrote to him from Bath: "I beg as soon as you get Fieldings Joseph Andrews, I fear in Ridicule of your Pamela and of Virtue in the Notion of Don

¹ II, xvii.

² *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, ed. A. L. Barbauld (London, 1804), I, 68.

³ *Samuel Richardson* (London, 1902), pp. 44-45.

⁴ Forster MS XVI, I, fol. 51; see Dobson, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Hist. MSS Com., Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IX, p. 204; see W. L. Cross, *History of Henry Fielding* (New Haven, 1918), I, 305-6.

⁶ There is a copy of Cogan's catalogue in the archives of the publishing house of Rivington.

Quixotes Manner, you would send it me by the very first Coach it is to be publish't the 22^d and perhaps if your People be artful they may procure it of the Trade on Saturday and send it by the Monday's Coach for Bath."¹ Under the circumstances Cheyne's eagerness seems almost indecent, but Richardson, however reluctantly, must have complied with his request, for on March 9 he wrote briefly: "I had Fieldings wretched Performance, for which I thank you, it will entertain none but Porters or Watermen."² This verdict must have been after Richardson's own heart, and one would expect to find it echoed in his elaborate correspondence of the early forties, but that is not the case—the subject of *Joseph Andrews* is dropped. In April, 1743, Richardson sent Fielding's *Miscellanies* to Aaron Hill, apparently without comment.³ Cross may be right in inferring that the withdrawal of the commendatory letters from the octavo edition of *Pamela* published in 1742 was due to the telling parody of those letters in *Shamela*,⁴ but it should be observed that admirers of Richardson had censured this puffery as severely as Fielding. In February, 1741, John Osborn had transmitted to Richardson an outspoken letter on this subject from an unknown clergyman.⁵

Why did Richardson wait until after the appearance of *Tom Jones* to air his resentment against Fielding? His first extant reference to *Joseph Andrews* is in his correspondence with Lady Bradshaigh, about 1749, when he calls the story a "lewd and ungenerous engraftment."⁶ *Shamela* in itself might have furnished him with more substantial cause for complaint. Professor Blanchard's explanation is that although *Joseph Andrews* won great popular success, it was ignored or slighted by the critics, so that Richardson did not come to feel that Fielding was a serious rival until the major triumph of *Tom Jones*.⁷ This, as far as it goes, is no doubt true. But it may be added that *Pamela* too was esteemed rather by common readers than by men of letters and leaders of taste. Apart from personal friends like Hill,

¹ University of Edinburgh Library, Laing MS III, 236, Letter LV.

² *Ibid.*, Letter LVI.

³ Forster MS XIII, 3, fol. 13: Hill to Richardson, April 15, 1743.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 309.

⁵ Forster MS XVI, 1, fol. 46 (printed by Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 38).

⁶ *Correspondence*, IV, 286.

⁷ *Fielding the Novelist* (New Haven, 1926), p. 11.

Cibber, and Dr. Delany, the admirers of *Pamela* whose praises were carefully docketed by Richardson and filed among his papers turn out to be obscure clergymen and anonymous or pseudonymous correspondents. The chief exception is the group with which Richardson was connected through his brother-in-law James Leake at Bath, including Pope, Warburton, and Dr. George Cheyne, and their approval was given not in print, but in private correspondence. Richardson's own female coterie as we know it was not formed until about the time of the publication of *Clarissa*.¹ He was vain enough in the early forties, no doubt, but he had not yet been completely spoiled, and instead of exacting homage from his correspondents he proceeded quietly to write his greatest book. And if, as seems probable, Sarah Fielding was one of his earliest admirers, her good offices may have helped to keep the peace.

Henry Fielding was a whole-hearted admirer of *Clarissa*. His tribute to the book in the *Jacobite's Journal*, January 2, 1748, was not a random bit of magnanimity, but an expression of his mature critical convictions. He sympathized with the bourgeois drama of Johnson and Moore, and found in *Clarissa* the greatest of bourgeois dramas.² The supplementary praise of *Clarissa* in the *Jacobite's Journal* for March 5, 1748, would alone suffice to dispose of Thackeray's all too vivid picture of a lusty Harry Fielding roaring "Milkso!" at the effeminate Richardson. It disposes likewise of Digeon's curious theory that *Tom Jones* was deliberately written as an anti-*Clarissa*.³ If Fielding had been carrying out such a plan when he wrote the passages in the *Jacobite's Journal*, he would have been practicing the hypocrisy which he above all things despised.

And there can be no doubt that Fielding's praise elated Richardson, even brought him to the point of referring to Fielding in friendly terms. To those who think of this chapter in eighteenth-century fiction as a combat between the two novelists, softened by Fielding's

¹ Dottin ("L'Accueil fait à *Pamela*," *Revue anglo-américaine*, VII [1930], 513) mentions the enthusiasm of various bluestockings for *Pamela*, and gives the impression that their eulogies followed close upon the publication of the book. But a great deal of the evidence he cites, perhaps all of it, comes from letters of a later date.

² He wrote the Epilogue for Johnson's *Caelia* and praised Moore's *Foundling* (*Jacobite's Journal*, March 19, 1748); see J. H. Caskey, *The Life and Works of Edward Moore* (New Haven, 1927), pp. 45-46.

³ *Les Romans de Fielding* (Paris, 1923), chap. IV, *passim*.

generosity, the following passage will seem strange indeed. In answer to a letter of facetious congratulations from Edward Moore, who was on friendly terms with both men, Richardson's peculiar vein of mock-modest banter leads him to go as far as this:

But, Lord, Sir, how do these Ladies Mistake the Tendency of the five Volumes you have seen, as well as that of the two others to come, when they suppose, that it is to put People out of Conceit with all other Reading!—All, I do assure you, that is meant, and can be presumed on this head, is, that the poor Clarissa may be admitted to fill a Gap in the Reading World; while Mr. Moore and Mr. Fielding are (as a certain Duke lately said of a certain Genius in his Retirement) reposing their Understandings.¹

Though this is written humorously, it is not set down in malice.

Dobson has called attention to the passage in which Richardson names Fielding among those who urged him to give his story a happy ending:

These will shew you, Sir, that I intend more than a Novel or Romance by this Piece; and that it is of the Tragic Kind: In short, that I thought my principal Character could not be rewarded by any Happiness short of the Heavenly. But how have I suffered by this from the Cavils of some, from the Prayers of others, from the Intreaties of many more, to make what is called a Happy Ending!—Mr. Lyttelton, the late Mr. Thomson, Mr. Cibber, and Mr. Fielding, have been among these.²

In the autumn of 1748 Richardson was circulating among his friends copies of the last volumes of *Clarissa*, which were not to be published until December. Fielding either saw his sister's copy or received one himself, and thereupon wrote a letter to Richardson urging a happy ending. At the place where it should have been inserted in the *Clarissa* correspondence appears this tantalizing note in Richardson's later hand: "Copy of Mr. H. Fielding's Letter follows this, Oct. 15, 1748. Taken out to lend to Mr. A. Millar, at his Request. A very exact one."³ In the Index to this part of the correspondence the letter is entered as "M^r Fielding on y^e 5th Vol^e."⁴ Andrew Millar no doubt

¹ Forster MS XV, 2, fol. 19: October 3, 1748. The names of Moore and Fielding have been crossed out, except for the initials, but they are quite legible. Richardson no doubt remembers here that Fielding had recently praised Moore's *Foundling*, as well as *Clarissa*.

² Forster MS XIII, 3, fol. 152: to Hill, November 7, 1748. Printed by Dobson, *op. cit.*, p. 96. Cf. Edward Young's letter to the Duchess of Portland, January 29, 1748[–49]: "I think your Grace knows Mr. Littleton; he, Mr. Fielding, Cibber, &c., all of them pressed the author very importunately to make his story end happily" (Hist. MSS Com., MSS of the Marquis of Bath, I, 313).

³ Forster MS XV, 2, fol. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3, fol. 2.

meant well—he was a good friend to both novelists—but it is a great pity that he did not preserve this important document. Five years later Richardson sent to his Dutch correspondent Stinstra extracts from letters on *Clarissa* written by “Fielding, Young, and others.”¹

As a result of the careful studies of Dobson, Cross, Blanchard, and Digeon, the situation immediately after the publication of *Tom Jones* is well known, and need be treated only briefly in this discussion. Richardson’s jealousy of Fielding’s success flares up with such pharisaism and malignity that his reputation still suffers from it. He was irked not merely by the general approval of *Tom Jones*, but by the threat of defections in his own circle, by the qualified praise of the rival novelist which such admirers as Elizabeth Carter, the daughters of Aaron Hill, and even Lady Bradshaigh ventured to express. He felt that his prestige among his own friends was at stake. The kind of comment which galled him may be illustrated briefly from a letter written him by some admirer at Dalkeith House, who passes blithely from praise of *Clarissa* to praise of *Tom Jones*:

I am vastly diverted with a book of Fieldings that is come out lately, Tom Jones by Title. He has I believe a Fund of humour which will never be exhausted and I suppose his new profession of Justice of the Quorum will furnish him with fresh Supplies of Matter to set in an entertaining Light, if he has a mind to it.²

In Richardson’s letters of 1749 and 1750 contemptuous comments on *Tom Jones* run parallel with complaints that the principal masculine characters in *Clarissa* are being misunderstood; the libertine Lovelace is being indiscriminately admired by feminine readers, and Anna Howe’s unromantic suitor, Mr. Hickman, is generally undervalued. Digeon’s elaborate theory that Fielding’s principal novels are so many rejoinders to Richardson cannot be made good; if we think of any of these novels as planned in rivalry, it would be fairly accurate to say that *Grandison* was projected to oppose *Tom Jones* as well as to supplement and correct *Clarissa*. Though rivalry with Fielding is by no means the only motive back of *Grandison*, it has its place. Richardson wanted to establish beyond the shadow of a doubt his pre-eminence as a novelist and as a moral and religious oracle. The contrast between

¹ Christiaan Sepp, *Johannes Stinstra en zijn Tijd* (Amsterdam, 1865), pp. 248–49.

² Forster MS XV, 2, fol. 22: June 30, 1749.

his hero and Fielding's is brought out in the Concluding Note to *Grandison*:

It has been said, in behalf of many modern fictitious pieces, in which authors have given success (and *happiness*, as it is called) to their heroes of vitious, if not of profligate characters, that they have exhibited human nature as it is. Its corruption may, indeed, be exhibited in the faulty character; but need pictures of this be held out in books? Is not vice crowned with success, triumphant, and rewarded, and, perhaps, set off with wit and spirit, a dangerous representation? And is it not made even *more* dangerous by the hasty reformation introduced, in contradiction to all probability, for the sake of patching up what is called a happy ending?

Meanwhile Richardson watched the progress of *Amelia* with scornful yet with jealous eyes. He knew about the book long before publication. When, in a letter to Lady Bradshaigh, he applies a tag from Juvenal to Fielding's early career—

Would'st thou be read, or would'st thou bread ensure,
Dare something worthy *Newgate* or the *Tower*—

he adds: "In the former of which (removed from inns and alehouses) will some of his next scenes be laid; and perhaps not unusefully; I hope not."¹ On December 18, 1751, Richardson wrote Young that a few days before Millar "was preparing the publication of a new piece by Mr Fielding."² *Amelia* was published on December 19, and Richardson sent off a copy to Thomas Edwards promptly enough to elicit the following comment on December 23, in a barely legible fragment indorsed by Richardson "On Reading Mr F's *Amelia*":

Dead small-beer . . . [Ch]ampagne. [In]deed it will never do, my dear Mr. Richardson. I thank you however for [y]our kindness, but I shall have no very great longing to see the sequel of so extraordinary a beginning. Go on my good Friend to show these [P]eople how they ought to write. Though [y]our prescriptions may perhaps work slowly, I do not doubt but that they will mend the Age.³

Best remembered as the leader of the sonnet revival and the opponent of Warburton, Edwards was the most partisan of Richardson's admirers, and a constellation of remarks of this kind appears in his unpublished correspondence. At the very time when he was defending the "minuteness" of *Clarissa* he was doubtful whether he could get

¹ *Correspondence*, IV, 286.

² *Monthly Magazine*, XXXIX (1815), 232.

³ Forster MS XII, 1, fol. 35.

through "Justice Dingo's voluminous Novel," that is, *Tom Jones*.¹ He duly disapproved of Fielding's *Covent Garden Journal*, and was eager to announce the failure of Fielding's latest ventures to other correspondents besides Richardson:

Just before I came out of Town I saw part of the first Volume of *Amelia*, and I have since read the *Convent-garden Journal*; from both which specimens I conclude that the Justice has spoiled the Author, and should imagine that the best way to recover his reputation would be to take away his present office and income; since it is probable that he would find his Wit when he was obliged to live by it.²

Waxing a bit more philosophical, he tries to formulate the difference between the two novelists, and gropes rather clumsily toward Dr. Johnson's distinction between a penetrating and analytical Richardson and a superficial Fielding:

This winter has been a very barren one, to me at least [*sic*] of literary productions; I have seen nothing but *Amelia*, and that I do not half like; His Heroes are generally good-natured Fellows, but not honest men; and indeed I think, if Hogarth and he knew their own talents, they should keep to the Dutch manner of painting, and be contented to make people laugh, since what is really great seems to be above their powers. Somebody says, a great Poet must be a good man; I hope the observation is true, but I do not call all great Poets who write a great many verses; This however I think seems certain, that a man will but weakly describe passions and affections which he himself cannot feel; there will be a certain stiffness, as we see in copying a picture, which will make it fall vastly short of that freedom and nature which shews itself in a good original.

I think it scarce possible not to feel this difference between the Author I just now mentioned and my friend Mr Richardson whenever they attempt to describe either the great or the tender sentiments of the mind; the one we see every moment does *personam gerere*, he is an Actor, and not a Garrick neither, the other is the thing itself.³

Soon Richardson could exult over the failure of *Amelia*, in letters to Mrs. Donnellan, Edwards, and Lady Bradshaigh, who all took what he considered the correct view of the subject.⁴ The letter to Mrs. Donnellan contains the notorious passage interpreting *Tom Jones* as a piece of autobiography. He also took pains to tell Sarah Fielding

¹ MS Bodl. 1011, pp. 98, 101, 102: to Charles Yorke, January 19, 1748[-49]; to Lewis Crusius, January 20, 1748[-49].

² *Ibid.*, pp. 311-12: to Yorke, January 8, 1752.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 331-32: to the Rev. Mr. Lawry, February 12, 1752.

⁴ *Correspondence*, III, 33-34; IV, 59-61; VI, 154. ✓

that her brother was "low." In the very month of February, 1752, when some of the worst of these comments were written, Fielding remarked genially in the *Covent Garden Journal*, No. 10: "Pleasantry (as the ingenious Author of *Clarissa* says of a Story) should be made only the Vehicle of Instruction." He repeated this citation in the Preface to his *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*, but in the same passage humorously contrasted his own modesty with "the conduct of authors, who often fill a whole sheet with their own praises, to which they sometimes set their own real names, and sometimes a fictitious one." This is of course a reminiscence of the puffing of *Pamela*, and Edwards chose to be highly indignant at it: "Fielding's *Voyage* is the arrantest catch-penny that ever was published; I am amazed that a man who felt himself dying by inches could be so idly employed; but his insolent censure of M^r Richardson is unpardonable because it is highly unjust."¹ A few days later he made the utterly disgraceful comment which has always been quoted as printed by Mrs. Barbauld, but which in the original contains a reference to Fielding's mild gibe, and also to the substitution of Fielding's name for Richardson's in Warburton's trial Preface to *Clarissa*, transferred by this time to his edition of Pope:

I have lately read over with much indignation Fielding's last piece, called his *Voyage to Lisbon*. That a man, who had led such a life as he had, should trifle in that manner when immediate death was before his eyes is amazing; but his impudence, in attributing that to your works which is the true character of his own which are the reverse of yours, is what puts me beyond all patience. It seems to me as if conscious that the world would not join with Warburton in transferring the palm from your's to his desertless head, he envied the reputation which you have so justly gained in that way of writing. From this book I am confirmed in what his other books had fully persuaded me of, that with all his parade of pretenses to virtuous and humane affections, the fellow had no heart.²

But this is not all. In a letter to Daniel Wray, Edwards brings his series of comments to a climax by declaring that Fielding was under personal obligations to Richardson: "Fielding's malevolence against

¹ MS Bodl. 1012, p. 208: to Daniel Wray, May 23, 1755.

² Forster MS XII, fol. 141: to Richardson, May 28, 1755; cf. *Correspondence*, III, 125. The passage "but his impudence . . . that way of writing" is omitted by Mrs. Barbauld. For Warburton's Preface to *Clarissa* and the transactions connected with it see R. S. Crane, "A Note on Richardson's Relation to French Fiction," *MP*, XVI (1918-19), 495-99; "Richardson, Warburton and French Fiction," *MLR*, XVII (1922), 17-23.

our friend was the more unpardonable as the Good Man had once by his interposition saved his bones and at the very last by his correspondence at Lisbon had procured him accommodations which he could not otherwise have had."¹ Offensive as Edwards' tone is, it is not likely that he would make up statements like this out of whole cloth, though nothing of the sort is known to the biographers. We can imagine the condescending kindness with which Richardson might have helped Fielding out of a sponging-house, or have played the part of mediator in some obscure literary or theatrical dispute, or have written to Lisbon to secure lodgings and attention for a dying man. Such things have happened, and of such stuff is comedy made. How eagerly would James Boswell have run this story down, and what a highly colored paragraph could Thackeray have made of it for his *English Humourists!*

As a picturesque postscript to this discussion, there appeared in October, 1761, a volume called *Extracts from such of the Penal Laws, As particularly relate to the Peace and Good Order of this Metropolis*, to which was appended "A Short Treatise on the Office of Constable" by John Fielding, based on notes left by Henry Fielding, the whole "Printed by S. Richardson and C. Lintot, Law-Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, for A. Millar, in the Strand."² Richardson died on July 4, 1761, but his widow kept for some time the half-interest in the patent as law-printer which he had bought in 1760.³ We can only hope that he knew in the spring of 1761 that his press was to work off John Fielding's praise of "the late *Henry Fielding*, who for some Time executed the important Office of principal acting Magistrate for the County of *Middlesex* and City and Liberty of *Westminster*, so much to his own Honour and so much to the Advantage of his Country."⁴

Millar himself, Edward Moore, John Fielding, Sarah Fielding and her friends, William Strahan the printer, might have given us reminiscences of the two novelists which would help to adjust the bal-

¹ MS Bodl. 1012, p. 212: June 16, 1755.

² Professor George Sherburn has kindly called my attention to this publication. Cross (*op. cit.*, III, 98-99, 328) gives a full description based on the edition of 1769, which was printed by Woodfall and Strahan.

³ Cf. the imprint of William Nelson, *The Laws Concerning Game* (6th ed.), "E. Richardson and C. Lintot for T. Waller: London, 1762."

⁴ P. 245.

ance. Even as it is, we find in the published works of the Misses Fielding and Collier a fairly even distribution of praise. Thus Jane Collier in her ironical *Essay on the Art of Ingeniously Tormenting* (1753) exclaims, "How must an old Harlowe enjoy himself in loading a Clarissa with money, clothes, jewels, &c. whilst he knows, that all she wants from him, is kind looks and kind words!" And on the same page, as if to even matters, "The behaviour of old Western to his daughter Sophia, in Tom Jones, will shew you how a fond father should treat a deserving child."¹ Later she names as "ethical writers" Swift, Addison, Richardson, and Fielding.² *The Cry*, in which Sarah Fielding and Jane Collier collaborated, has several important references to Fielding,³ and was praised by Richardson. Sarah Fielding's *Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia* (1757), a book which Richardson patronized, names as examples of romantic fiction "the imaginary Scenes of *Arcadia*, the wonderful Atchievements of *Don Quixote*, the merry Conceits of *Sancho*, rural Innocence of a *Joseph Andrews*, or the inimitable Virtues of Sir *Charles Grandison*," only to urge the superior claims of actual biography. Evidently this group was not unduly subservient. The malevolent passages against Fielding inevitably loom too large in a detailed account of Richardson's correspondence. When we study the early reputation of the two men we find that there was no diametrical opposition between them except in the minds of a very few extreme partisans. Richardson's personal spite had no profound effect on literary history, though it has proved most disastrous for his own reputation. There was no "paper war"; Richardson was not, like Smollett, disposed to attack people in print. And even in the endless conversation and tea-drinking of Richardson's suburban retreats, perhaps Thomas Edwards and Samuel Johnson were the only friends who assured him of his own superior merits with the requisite emphasis and literary authority.

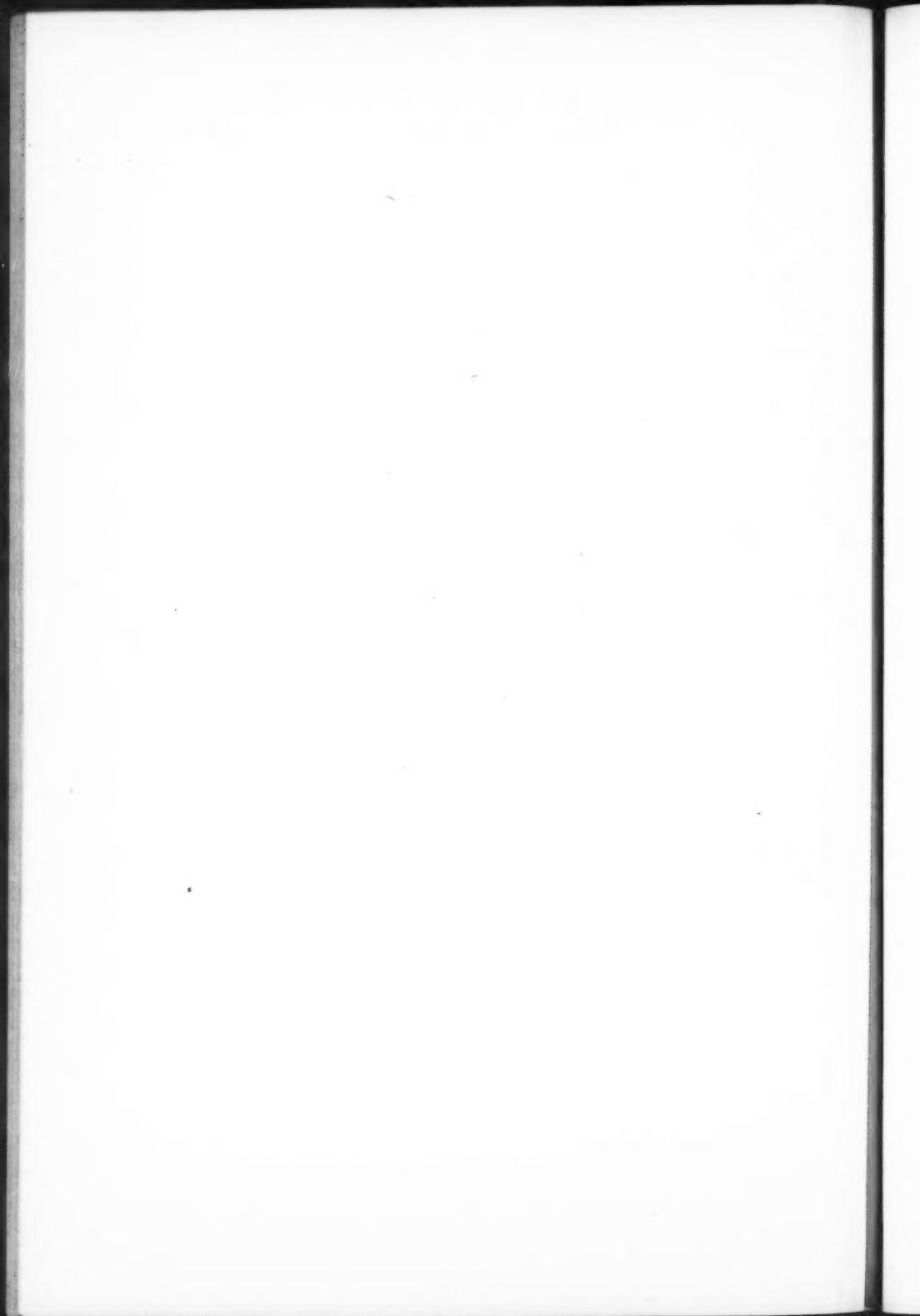
ALAN D. MCKILLOP

RICE INSTITUTE

¹ P. 88.

² P. 229.

³ I, 10-11, 104, 174; II, 166, 169; see *Correspondence*, II, 108-9: Richardson to Sarah Fielding, January 17, 1757. He also discusses the book in a letter to Miss Wescomb, August 9, 1754 (Forster MS XIV, 3, fol. 135).



STENDHAL AU CONCLAVE

M. DE STENDHAL est l'homme de France qui connaît le mieux l'Italie: il y a fait six voyages, il y a vécu dix ans, et rien n'y saurait arriver d'important ni de curieux, qu'il n'en soit informé tout aussitôt par le menu, ou qu'il ne se trouve y assister juste à point. Le cardinal Della Genga est-il élevé au trône pontifical, M. de Stendhal n'ignore rien des galanteries de sa jeunesse, ni des intrigues qui lui ont valu la tiare, ni du mal d'entrailles qui l'emportera bientôt. Léon XII vient-il à mourir, le 10 février 1829, M. de Stendhal est précisément à Rome, comme par miracle. Il est des premiers à apprendre la maladie du Saint-Père, des premiers à courir au Vatican à l'annonce de sa mort. Il suit jour par jour les obsèques *novendiales*, il a le rare privilège d'assister à la mise en bière, il obtient l'insigne faveur d'inspecter l'aménagement du conclave, il est admis par grande protection à un spectacle lugubre: la fermeture du cercueil, à Saint-Pierre, la nuit, à la lueur de quelques flambeaux. Les funérailles achevées, il ne manque pas de s'intéresser au conclave: il voit le 23 février le cortège des cardinaux entrer à Monte-Cavallo, il entend les trois coups de cloche de la clôture; les jours suivants, il va guetter la *fumata*, il va observer l'arrivée du dîner des reclus, pour un peu il soulèverait le couvercle des paniers et flairerait d'un nez critique ces pieuses nourritures; bien plus, il est au courant de tous les secrets: de Gregorio a failli être élu, le discours de M. de Chateaubriand a déplu à Leurs Eminences. Apprend-il, le 31 mars au matin, qu'il n'y a pas eu de *fumata*, il court à Monte-Cavallo: il attend trois heures sur la place, au milieu de la foule, il voit le cardinal Albani apparaître au balcon du palais, il lui entend proclamer l'élection de Pie VIII. Et la preuve, c'est qu'il pleut à torrents, et que M. de Stendhal est mouillé comme si on l'avait jeté dans le Tibre: de sa vie il n'a été mouillé ainsi. Du moins s'il faut en croire les *Promenades dans Rome*.¹

Mais voici bien une autre histoire: le fidèle Romain Colomb ne nous raconte-t-il pas de son côté que peu s'en fallut que Beyle ne jouât

¹ *Promenades dans Rome*, par M. de Stendhal (Paris: Delaunay, 1829), II, 528-68.

Toutes nos citations des *Promenades dans Rome* seront faites d'après cette édition.

auprès du conclave un rôle discret, mais capital? Lorsque vers le 15 février la nouvelle imprévue de la mort de Léon XII parvint à Paris, c'est à l'auteur de *Rome, Naples et Florence* que Charles X, dans son ignorance des affaires de Rome, aurait fait appel par l'intermédiaire d'un familier de la cour. Beyle, en trois heures de travail, aurait rédigé une statistique complète du Sacré Collège, résumé tout ce qu'il importait de savoir sur les cardinaux papables, et démontré que la France devait appuyer de Gregorio. Le Roi enchanté aurait aussitôt pris des mesures pour agir auprès du conclave: trois émissaires, porteurs du secret et d'un million pris sur la cassette royale, devaient se rendre à Rome par trois routes différentes. Mais au dernier moment on aurait craint de blesser M. de Chateaubriand en agissant à son insu, et c'est lui qui aurait été chargé du secret, par la voie ordinaire. Beyle aurait ainsi vu lui échapper une mission qui l'eût comblé d'aise; mais son candidat n'aurait malgré tout manqué la tiare que d'une voix, au scrutin qui la donna à Castiglioni.¹

Ces deux récits semblent malheureusement peu conciliables. Si vers le 15 février Beyle était à Paris, fort occupé de son mémoire sur le Sacré Collège, comment M. de Stendhal aurait-il pu apprendre le 10 à Rome la mort du pape, et y suivre du 14 au 22 les obsèques *novendiales*?

Colomb est assurément de bonne foi, mais les documents officiels sont loin de corroborer ses allégations. Le prétendu mémoire de Beyle n'a point été retrouvé aux Archives des Affaires étrangères: nous y avons bien découvert des *Notes sur les conclaves*, un *Mémoire sur l'élection de Léon XII et aperçu sur l'événement supposé d'un nouveau conclave*, une *Note sur plusieurs membres du Sacré Collège*, mais aucun de ces documents n'est de la main de Beyle, et ne semble pouvoir lui être attribué.² Il n'apparaît point non plus que le Roi ait spécialement soutenu la candidature du cardinal de Gregorio, ni d'ailleurs d'aucun

¹ Cf. Romain Colomb, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Henry Beyle*, pp. I-II. Auguste Bussièrre, dans son article de la *Revue des deux mondes* du 15 janvier 1843, signalait déjà brièvement le rôle que Beyle aurait joué dans cette affaire.

² Archives des Affaires étrangères, *Rome 1824-1829, Mémoires et Documents*, fols. 129 et suivants. Les deux premiers de ces documents sont datés de novembre 1825, le troisième porte l'annotation *17 février 1825* au crayon. Ce sont eux sans doute dont Chateaubriand parlait avec dédain dans sa dépêche du 17 février 1829 à Portalis: "Il y a aussi dans les cartons du ministère quelques notes venues par une autre voie. Ces portraits, assez souvent de fantaisie, peuvent amuser, mais ne prouvent rien" (Dépêche citée par M.-J. Durry, *L'Ambassade romaine de Chateaubriand* [Paris: Champion, 1927], pp. 64-65).

autre candidat. La dépêche annonçant la mort de Léon XII semble avoir plongé la cour dans la plus grande indécision:¹ près d'une semaine se passe avant qu'on se décide à envoyer à Chateaubriand des instructions, et combien timides, combien vagues: le Roi "n'a point encore de plan arrêté pour faire élire au trône de Saint-Pierre ou pour en écarter tel candidat plutôt que tel autre."² Les instructions remises le 25 février aux cardinaux français sont à peine moins confuses: "S. M. n'a en vue aucun cardinal dont elle désire plus exclusivement l'élection au pontificat"; Castiglioni, de Gregorio, Brancadoro, Zurla, Benvenuti, Capellari, semblent fort acceptables.³ Chateaubriand, de son côté, faisant à ces mêmes cardinaux ses dernières recommandations avant leur entrée au conclave, convient avec eux qu'ils porteront "Capellari, Oppizzoni, Benvenuti, Zurla, Castiglioni, enfin Pacca et Gregorio."⁴ Et s'il est vrai qu'à plusieurs reprises de Gregorio put croire son élection assurée, au dernier scrutin loin de manquer la tiare d'une voix il n'obtint que deux votes, contre quarante-sept à Castiglioni.⁵ Les souvenirs de Romain Colomb s'avèrent donc moins que sûrs, et ne sauraient infirmer à eux seuls le récit des *Promenades dans Rome*.

Mais nous avons aussi contre M. de Stendhal le témoignage d'Henri Beyle, dont la correspondance montre que jusqu'au 17 février au moins il ne quitta point Paris, où le retenaient le plaisir d'admirer Mlle Mars dans *Henri III et sa Cour*, et surtout le souci de trouver à tout prix un éditeur pour les *Promenades dans Rome*.⁶ Cependant, dira-t-on, s'il ne put assister aux funérailles de Léon XII, sans doute n'eut-il rien de plus pressé que de se jeter dans la malle-poste et de courir à Rome d'une traite, pour voir au moins fût-ce en simple curieux le conclave, qui se prolongea, comme on sait, jusqu'au 31 mars? Que non pas: il n'y songea même point, apparemment. Pendant

¹ Chateaubriand calcule que cette dépêche, expédiée par lui de Rome le 10 février, dut arriver à Paris le 15; cf. *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, V, 157-58. Les journaux annoncèrent la nouvelle le 19.

² Dépêche de Portalis à Chateaubriand, citée par M.-J. Durry, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

³ Instructions de Portalis aux cardinaux français, citée par L. Farges, *Stendhal diplomate* (Paris: Plon, 1892), pp. 257-71.

⁴ Dépêche de Chateaubriand à Portalis, 15 mars 1829, *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, V, 162.

⁵ Voir le journal secret du conclave, adressé le 2 avril 1829 par Chateaubriand à Portalis, et publié par L. Thomas sous le titre de *Journal d'un conclave* (Paris: Messéin, 1914).

⁶ *Correspondance de Stendhal*, II, 493-95, lettres des 10 et 17 février 1829; *New Monthly Magazine*, XXV (May 1829), 495-96.

tout le mois de mars, sa grande affaire est encore les *Promenades dans Rome*: il y "pioche ferme" tous les matins, il est prêt à livrer deux volumes, mais il a de quoi en faire trois; il a le plus pressant besoin d'argent, il est résigné à donner à qui le voudra son manuscrit pour mille francs comptant, il n'a de cesse qu'il n'ait arraché le 14 mars un contrat à Delaunay; mais du conclave pas un mot. Et le 3 avril, avant-veille du Couronnement de Pie VIII, c'est encore de Paris qu'il écrit à Sutton-Sharpe, pour lui donner des nouvelles de Mérimée, de Mareste et de Mme Ancelot.¹

La cause est jugée. Mais alors, par les yeux de qui M. de Stendhal a-t-il vu, par les oreilles de qui a-t-il entendu? et, s'il était à Paris le jour où il pleuvait si fort à Rome, sur le dos de qui a-t-il reçu cette pluie torrentielle, cette pluie des tropiques dont il fut si mouillé?

Certes, les journaux de Paris n'avaient point manqué de tenir leurs lecteurs au courant par de fréquents extraits du *Diario di Roma*. Mais Stendhal dédaigne ces traductions tronquées: c'est à l'original qu'il se reporte, à cette vénérable prose pleine d'onction et de réserve, toute gonflée d'*Eminentissimi*, de *Reverendissimi*, d'*Excellentissimi*, toute bruisante d'un pieux murmure d'oraisons, toute embaumée d'un encens sacré, et comme pénétrée d'une odeur de sainteté. Il sait lire entre les lignes, et deviner ce qu'il se cache d'habileté sous ces édifiantes périodes: "Pensez un instant," dit-il dans les *Promenades*, "à l'énorme quantité de niaiseries, toujours les mêmes, que ce journal doit prendre au sérieux. Il s'en tire fort bien; il raconte clairement, nettement, en termes officiels, mais pourtant pas trop emphatiques."² Aussi Stendhal ne se fait-il point faute de puiser dans le *Diario di Roma*. Le simple rapprochement des textes nous révélera sa méthode, et nous permettra de mesurer l'étendue de sa dette.

Il se montre, pour commencer, fort discret. Le 5 février, au cours d'une soirée chez Mme Marentani, il apprend que le pape est au plus mal, et entend discuter la strangurie dont souffre le vieillard. Rien de plus simple: il lui suffit, pour faire après coup de Mme Marentani la femme la mieux informée de Rome, d'ouvrir le *Diario* du 11 février:

¹ *Correspondance*, II, 498-99, 495-96, 496-97, 497-98, lettres des 5, 7, 10 mars, et 3 avril 1829.

² *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 233.

"Il Santo Padre incominciò a soffrire di stranguria nella sera di giovedì 5 del corrente; e sempre più aggravandosi il male, furono nella notte soprachiamati i Professori dell'arte salutare..."¹ Se souvient-il alors d'avoir entendu trois jours auparavant le pape entonner le *Te Deum*, c'est que le *Diario* du 7, en décrivant la fête de la Purification célébrée le 2 à la Sixtine, avait noté: "Terminato l'incruento Sacrificio fu intonato da Sua Beatitudine il *Te Deum*";² remarque-t-il ensuite, sous la date du 8: "Le pape va mieux. Hier et avant-hier il était au plus mal, ce matin on a des espérances"; et sous la date du 9: "Léon XII vient de recevoir le viatique, qui lui a été administré par son *cameriere secreto* (ou chambellan), monsignor Alberto Barbolani," c'est que le *Diario* du 11 le lui apprenait en propres termes: "Aumentò nondimeno il male ne' giorni 6 e 7. Il giorno 8 parve rimettere alquanto e dare alcuna speranza; ma sul venire della sera avendo peggiorato di nuovo, e la mattina seguente essendo gravissimo il pericolo, il Santo Padre chiese da se medesimo il SSmo Viativo, che gli fu subito amministrato da Monsignor Alberto Barbolani suo Cameriere secreto."³ Il se borne en somme à mettre en œuvre d'une manière ingénieuse les renseignements que lui fournit le *Diario di Roma*.

Mais il ne tarde pas à s'enhardir, et à suivre de plus près le texte italien:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Intanto Sua Elnza Rna il sig. Cardinal Bernetti Segretario di Stato partecipò la dolorosa notizia all'Eino e Rno sig. Cardinal della Somaglia Decano del Sacro Collegio, all'Eino e Rno signor Card. Zurla Vicario, ed all'Eccno Corpo Diplomatico. Il Sacro Collegio, appresso l'avviso avutone da esso Eino signor Cardinal Decano, si recò subito in abito al Vaticano ad informarsi personalmente della sanità del Santo Padre.

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Aussitôt après la cérémonie du viatique administré au pape, M. le cardinal Bernetti, secrétaire d'état a annoncé le danger où sa sainteté se trouvait:

1° A S.E. le cardinal della Somaglia, doyen du sacré collège;

2° A S.E. le cardinal Zurla, vicaire général du pape, c'est à dire faisant à Rome les fonctions d'évêque;

3° Au corps diplomatique.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 528-29; *Diario di Roma*, 11 Febbraio. Le plus piquant est que Chateaubriand lui-même ne fut informé que le 9 février de la maladie du pape, comme en fait foi sa dépêche du 9 février 1829 au comte de Brosses, citée par M.-J. Durry, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

² *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 529; *Diario di Roma*, 7 Febbraio.

³ *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 530; *Diario di Roma*, 11 Febbraio.

L'Eŕmo signor Card. Castiglioni, Penitenziere Maggiore, entrò nella camera dell'Augusto infermo, ed ivi si trattene ad assisterlo, siccome è di costume; e allora l'Eŕmo sig. Card. Vicario, il quale aveva ordinato alle Patriarcali Lateranense, Vaticana e Liberiana di esporre il SSŕno Sagramento, notificò al Clero di dire l'Orazione *Pro Infirmo Pontifice morti proximo*, e in pari tempo furono sospesi tutti i pubblici spettacoli.

Sul cadere di esso giorno il Santo Padre, ch'era stato sempre presente a se stesso, entrò in un profondo sopore. (11 Febbraio.)

Le cardinal Castiglioni, grand pŕnitencier, averti par le cardinal doyen, est entré chez le pape pour prendre soin de sa conscience. Le Saint-Sacrement a été exposé dans les basiliques de Saint-Pierre, de Saint-Jean-de-Latran et de Sainte-Marie-Majeure; on a récité dans les églises l'oraison *pro infirmo pontifice morte proximo*.

Ce soir tous les théâtres ont été fermés.

Le pape est, dit-on, plongé dans une profonde léthargie. (9 février, pp. 531-32.)

Le récit de la visite au Vatican, le matin du 10, n'est pas sans rappeler celui du Président de Brosses dans ses *Lettres d'Italie*. "Enfin," avait écrit à la mort de Clément XII le digne Bourguignon, "le fidèle Pernet entrant ce matin dans ma chambre, vient de m'annoncer que tout était consommé pour le vicaire de Jésus-Christ: il est mort entre sept et huit heures"; c'est aussi au saut du lit que Stendhal apprend la mort de Léon XII: "On nous réveille à neuf heures, tout est fini pour Léon XII." Le Président s'était habillé sur le champ pour courir à Monte-Cavallo; "nous n'avons pas de temps à perdre pour nous rendre au Vatican," dit à son tour Stendhal. A Monte-Cavallo, le Président était parvenu trop tard à la chambre du pape pour entendre le Cardinal Camerlingue appeler le défunt par son nom, et lui voir briser l'anneau du pécheur; mais Stendhal, grâce au *Diario*, arrive à temps:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Sua Eŕnza Rŕna il signor Card. Galleffi Camerlengo della Santa Romana Chiesa, informata della morte di Sua Santità Leone XII, radunò all'istante il Tribunale della Rev. Camera Apostolica, e col medesimo recessi alle ore 20 del giorno 10 al palazzo Vaticano. Entrato nella camera in cui spirò il Sommo Pontefice, si prostrò in terra, pregò per l'Augus-

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Le cardinal Galeffi, camerlingue, a réuni le tribunal de la *Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, et à une heure après midi est entré dans la chambre du feu pape. Après une courte prière, le camerlingue s'est approché du lit; on a ôté le voile qui couvrait la tête du défunt, le camerlingue a reconnu le corps, et *monsignor maestro di Camera* lui a remis l'anneau du

to Defonto, e l'asperse coll'acqua benedetta. Dipoi avvicinosi per riconoscerne il cadavere, nel qual tempo dai due Ajutanti di Camera venne scoperto il volto. Riconosciutosi pel cadavere del Santo Padre, tornò l'Eminenza Sua a piedi del letto; ed ivi, ricevuto da Monsignor Maestro di Camera l'Anello Piscatorio, fu immediatamente dal Notajo Segretario di Camera genuflesso data lettura del rogito.

Indi avviatasi per ritornare al suo palazzo fu accompagnata dalla Guardia Svizzera, e ricevette dai posti militari gli onori superiori. (11 Febbraio.)

Ce n'est point le *Diario* qui fournit, sur la toilette du cadavre, un détail presque irrévérencieux: "il a été habillé, rasé; on prétend qu'on lui a mis un peu de rouge"; mais le Président de Brosses avait déjà dit de Clément XII: "on est venu lui raser le visage, et mettre un peu de rouge aux joues, pour adoucir cette grande pâleur de la mort."¹ Mais après ces brèves réminiscences d'un auteur qu'il aimait entre tous, Stendhal revient au *Diario*:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Frattanto Sua Em̃za avendo partecipato l'avviso della morte del Santo Padre all'Ecc̃mo signor Senatore di Roma, la gran campana del Campidoglio, e tutte le altre della Capitale, per ordine dell'Em̃o Cardinal Vicario, annunziarono alle 22 ore al Popolo Romano l'inafausta perdita del Supremo Capo della Chiesa. (11 Febbraio.)

Le numéro suivant du *Diario*, paru le 14 février, ne contenait qu'une fastidieuse énumération de cérémonies, que les *Promenades*

pêcheur.

A sa sortie du Vatican, le camerlingue, qui représente maintenant le souverain, a été suivi de la garde suisse, revêtue de son grand uniforme du quinzième siècle, mi-partie jaune et bleu. Tous les honneurs militaires lui ont été rendus sur son passage. (10 février, pp. 533-34.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

A deux heures, le sénateur de Rome, ayant appris officiellement la mort du pape, a fait sonner la grosse cloche du Capitole. Par ordre du cardinal Zurla, vicaire, toutes les cloches de Rome ont répondu à celle du Capitole. (10 février, p. 534.)

¹ *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 532-34; *Lettres d'Italie* (Dijon: Darancière, 1928), II, 273-74. Beyle eut entre les mains l'édition de 1799, en 3 volumes in-8°, des lettres du Président. Il cite dans les *Promenades*, II, 469-70, le début du récit de la visite à Monte-Cavallo.

passent sous silence pour sauter tout de suite au récit des obsèques, qui paraît dans le numéro du 18:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Le esequie novendiali pel Santo Padre Leone XII incominciarono la mattina del giorno 14. A tale effetto nella Cappella del Coro fu alzato un Tumulo, che videsi circondato da ceri e dalle Guardie Nobili. Pontificò la solenne Messa l'Eiño sig. Card. Pacca Vescovo di Porto, S. Rufina e Civitavecchia, e Sotto-Decano del Sacro Collegio. (18 Febbraio.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

14 FÉVRIER 1829.—Les obsèques du feu pape ont commencé aujourd'hui à Saint-Pierre; elles dureront neuf jours, suivant l'usage. Nous étions à Saint-Pierre dès les onze heures du matin. Monsignor N*** a la bonté de nous expliquer tout le cérémonial que nous voyons s'accomplir sous nos yeux. Le catafalque du pape a été élevé dans la chapelle du chœur; il est entouré des gardes nobles, revêtus de leur bel uniforme rouge avec deux épaulettes de colonel en or. Le corps du pape n'y est pas encore.

Nous avons assisté à une grand'messe dite en présence de ce catafalque. C'est le cardinal Pacca qui a officié en sa qualité de sous-doyen du sacré collège. (14 février, pp. 534-35.)

Après quelques réflexions à la Tacite sur la physionomie des cardinaux pendant la cérémonie, les *Promenades* reprennent leur adaptation du *Diario*:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Poichè ebbe fine la Messa, gli Eiñi signori Cardinali si recarono nella Camera Capitolare a tenervi la seconda Congregazione generale. In essa furono, secondo l'uso, confermati tutti i Magistrati ed Officiali di Roma e dello Stato EcclesiasticoPresentaronsi pure gli Eccellentissimi signori Conservatori di Roma a condolarsi sulla morte del Sommo Pontefice, e a rinnovare i loro rispettosi atti di ossequio e di sudditanza. Indi gli Eiñi signori Cardinali de-

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Après la messe, les cardinaux sont allés gouverner l'état; la séance a eu lieu dans la chambre du chapitre de Saint-Pierre. Ils ont confirmé tous les magistrats. Les conservateurs de Rome sont venus leur faire un discours de douleur sur la mort de Léon XII, qui met en joie tout le monde. Au reste, ce pape eût été un Sixte-Quint qu'il en serait de même. Les cardinaux, chargés de faire construire les petits appartements pour la tenue du conclave, au palais du Monte-

putati alla costruzione del Conclave, Cavallo, ont fait leur rapport. (14 février, p. 535.) fecero la relazione dello stato in che si trovavano i lavori. (18 Febbraio.)

Mais Stendhal s'embrouille dans ces interminables pompes funèbres, et nous décrit à la date du 14 des cérémonies qui ne furent célébrées que le 15, s'il faut en croire le *Diario* du 18:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Nel giorno medesimo [15] sulla mezz'ora di notte, dovendosi dar sepoltura alle spoglie mortali del Santo Padre, gli Eñi signori Cardinali creature del Defonto si radunarono nella Sacrestia Vaticana.

Frattanto il Clero della Basilica, precedendo la Croce, s'incamminò alla Cappella dove stava esposto il cadavere, il quale col loro accompagnamento, e con quello delle Guardie Nobili e Svizzere, cantando i Musici il *Miserere* in basso e flebile tuono, fu portato dai Cappellani della Basilica, vestiti con cotta, dentro la Cappella del Coro, di cui furono allora chiusi i cancelli, e tirate le cortine al di dentro. Avvisati quindi gli Eñi signori Cardinali si recarono, unitamente ai Monsignori Del Drago Maggiordomo de' Sacri Palazzi Apostolici e De Simone Maestro di Camera, alla Cappella medesima. (18 Febbraio.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Pendant que les cardinaux gouvernaient, le clergé de Saint-Pierre est allé chercher le corps de Léon XII dans la chapelle où il était exposé. On a chanté le *Miserere* assez mal. Le corps du pape étant arrivé dans la chapelle du cœur, les cardinaux y sont revenus. (14 février, pp. 535-36.)

Quant au "cérémonial fort compliqué" de la mise en bière, il l'abrège singulièrement. Le *Diario* en emplissait deux longues pages: hymnes, antiennes et psaumes, oraisons, aspersions et bénédiction; cercueil de cyprès, cercueil de plomb, linceul doublé de taffetas cramoisi; soutane blanche, aube, dalmatique et chasuble rouges, manteau pontifical, sandales et mitre; bourse de velours cramoisi renfermant une bourse de médailles d'or, une bourse de médailles d'argent, une bourse de médailles de bronze; rouleau de parchemin contenant l'histoire du règne—le pieux rédacteur énumérait tout avec

une délectation macabre. Mais Stendhal enferme en un tournemain le pape dans son cercueil, avec sa soutane blanche, son linceul cramois, ses bourses et son parchemin, et vous le dépêche en huit lignes dans l'éternité. Par contre, le procès-verbal du notaire apostolique l'arrête un instant, et il ne manque pas de remarquer la garde d'honneur du prince Chigi, maréchal du conclave.¹

C'est encore le *Diario* qui fournit aux *Promenades* la substance des journées suivantes. Si le 16 février Stendhal entend à Saint-Pierre la messe célébrée par le cardinal Castiglioni, visite le catafalque de Saint-Jean de Latran, et apprend l'arrivée du roi de Bavière, c'est que le *Diario* du 18 signalait en leur temps cette messe, ce catafalque et cette arrivée. Les arrivées de cardinaux, la visite du roi de Bavière au sculpteur Thorwaldsen, la décoration remise à l'artiste par le souverain, le premier discours de Chateaubriand et la réponse du cardinal Della Somaglia, la messe célébrée par le cardinal de Gregorio, consignés dans les *Promenades* le 18 et le 19 février, sont extraits du *Diario* du 21. La description du catafalque de Saint-Pierre, expédiée en quelques lignes dans les *Promenades* sous la date du 21, résume une demi-douzaine de pages du *Diario* du même jour. Stendhal, évidemment, s'impatiente: "ces cérémonies, toujours les mêmes, commencent à nous sembler longues," avoue-t-il non sans irrévérence.² Mais il n'oublie point, le 22 février de lancer au passage à l'abbé Majo une épigramme dont le *Diario* du 25 lui fournit, bien innocemment, la matière:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Finalmente Domenica 22 si celebrò l'ultimo giorno dei riferiti novendiali, pontificando la solenne Messa l'Emo sig. Card. Odescalchi del Titolo Presbiterale de' SS. XII Apostoli. Terminata la qual Messa l'Illmo e Rmo Monsignor Angelo Mai, Segretario della Sacra Congregazione sopra la Correzione de' Libri della Chiesa Orientale, Canonico di essa Basilica e Primo Custode della

PROMENADES DANS ROME

22 FÉVRIER, DIMANCHE.—Dernier jour des cérémonies de Saint-Pierre. Monsignor Majo, ce sous-bibliothécaire si poli de la bibliothèque du Vatican, a prononcé un discours latin sur les vertus de Léon XII, en présence des cardinaux et du corps diplomatique. Ce discours est un centon de Cicéron: pas une idée; il pourrait s'appliquer également à tous les papes sous le règne

¹ *Diario di Roma*, 18 Febbraio; *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 535-36.

² *Diario di Roma*, 21 Febbraio; *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 537-39.

Biblioteca Vaticana, salito sopra un pergamo collocato a *cornu Evangelii* dell'altare, pronunziò un'orazione latina, tutta piena di grave eloquenza et di nitore di lingua, intorno alle virtù che adornavano l'animo del defonto Pontefice, e che lo renderanno glorioso ne' secoli avvenire, non meno che di grata e di santa memoria allo Stato e alla Chiesa. (23 Febbraio.)

desquels il y a eu un jubilé. (22 février, pp. 539-40.)

Jusqu'ici Stendhal s'est borné à faire du *Diario* des extraits judiciaires, mais pour le récit de la mise au tombeau, il semble donner libre cours à son imagination. Le 22 février, dans la nuit, il assiste par grande protection à un spectacle lugubre: "Dans cette immense église de Saint-Pierre, quelques ouvriers menuisiers, éclairés par sept ou huit flambeaux, clouaient définitivement le cercueil de Léon XII. Des ouvriers maçons l'ont ensuite hissé avec des cordes et une grue, au-dessus de la porte où il remplace Pie VII. Ces ouvriers ont plaisanté constamment; c'étaient des plaisanteries à la Machiavel, fines, profondes et méchantes. Ces hommes parlaient comme les démons de la *Panhypocrisiade* de M. Lemercier; ils nous faisaient mal..." Rien ne manque à cette scène d'une grandeur shakespearienne, ni la nuit, ni les flambeaux, ni les plaisanteries macabres. Par malheur, ce n'est point le 22, mais bien le 15 au soir, s'il faut en croire le *Diario* du 18, que la dépouille de Léon XII fut hissée dans sa niche: "Essendo stata finalmente racchiusa questa seconda cassa dentro altra più grande di legno, ebbe luogo la tumulazione nella nominata nicchia, donde erano state tolte, come si disse, le ossa del Pontefice Pio VII."¹ Nulle trace, dans ce plat procès-verbal, du pathétique dont le récit de Stendhal est plein; mais écoutons, dans ce simple billet à Mme Récamier, la grande voix de Chateaubriand: "J'ai assisté à la première cérémonie funèbre pour le pape dans l'église de Saint-Pierre. C'était un étrange mélange d'indécence et de grandeur. Des coups de marteau qui clouaient le cercueil d'un pape, quelques chants interrompus, le mélange de la lumière des flambeaux et de celle de la lune, le cercueil enfin enlevé par une poulie et suspendu dans les

¹ *Diario di Roma*, 18 Febbraio; *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 540, 23 février.

ombres, pour le déposer au-dessus d'une porte dans le sarcophage de Pie VII, dont les cendres faisaient place à celles de Léon XII: Vous figurez-vous tout cela, et les idées que cette scène faisait naître?¹ Stendhal aurait-il par hasard eu connaissance de ces quelques lignes de l'Enchanteur? Il ne paraissait point à l'Abbaye-au-Bois, mais Ampère, Mérimée et Delécluze, ses amis, y fréquentaient.

Les obsèques terminées, Stendhal pousse un soupir de soulagement. Cependant, il daigne encore emprunter au *Diario* du 25 février le récit de la messe du Saint-Esprit célébrée le 23:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Terminati così i funerali del defonto Pontefice, gli Eñi signori Cardinali si recarono la mattina del 23 del corrente alla Cappella corale della Basilica Vaticana, ove l'Eño e Rño signor Cardinal della Somaglia Decano, coll'intervento della Prelatura, cantò la solenne Messa dello Spirito Santo. Indi l'Illño e Rño Monsignor Domenico Testa, Segretario de' Brevi ad Principes, e Canonico della Basilica Liberiana, recitò una dotta ed elegante orazione latina sull'importantissimo argomento della elezione del nuovo Sommo Pontefice. (25 Febbraio.)

Pour le récit de l'entrée des cardinaux au conclave, les *Promenades* traitent avec leur habituelle irrévérence la narration infiniment circonstanciée du *Diario*:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Nella sera alle ore 22 i prelati Eñi Porporati si adunarono nella Chiesa di S. Silvestro de' Signori della Missione al Quirinale. Un Maestro delle Ceremonie alzò la Croce Papale, e si accostò all'altare fra due Ostiarj de *Virga rubea*; ed allora i Cappellani Cantori della Cappella Pontificia

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Les obsèques sont enfin terminées. Le cardinal della Somaglia vient de chanter une messe du Saint-Esprit à l'occasion de l'ouverture du conclave. Cette cérémonie a encore eu lieu dans la chapelle du cœur de Saint-Pierre, dont le lambris doré est orné de tant de statues nues. Ce contre-sens nous a poursuivis tout le temps des obsèques. Aujourd'hui monsignor Testa a prêché en latin sur l'élection du pape. Ma foi, c'est trop d'ennui et de fausseté, tout le monde avait l'air de penser à autre chose. (23 février, p. 541.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Ce soir à vingt-deux heures (deux heures avant le coucher du soleil), nous sommes allés voir la procession des cardinaux entrant au conclave. Cette cérémonie a eu lieu sur la place de Monte-Cavallo, autour des chevaux de grandeur colossale. La croix qui précédait les cardinaux était

¹ *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, V, 132-33, n.

intonarono l'Inno *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Terminata la prima strofa, le LL. Eñze escirono dalla Chiesa, e traversando la contigua Piazza del Quirinale, guarnita dalle due milizie Civica e di Linea, entrarono nel Palazzo Pontificio, in cui era preparato il Conclave. Precedeva un drappello della Guardia scelta Civica; e a pochi passi di distanza venivano otto individui della Guardia Nobile che facevano fronte alla Processione. Seguivano quindi i Cappellani Cantori Pontificj, e l'accennato Maestro delle Cerimonie con la Croce rivolta indietro. Succedevano poscia, in mezzo alle Guardie Nobili e agli Svizzeri, gli Eñi signori Cardinali co' loro Conclavisti, nell'ordine seguente: (25 Febbraio.)

tournée en arrière, c'est à dire que ces messieurs pouvaient apercevoir le corps du Sauveur. Toutes ces choses ont un sens mystique que monsignor N*** a la bonté de nous expliquer. Chaque cardinal était accompagné de son conclaviste, qui, ce me semble, prend le titre de baron au sortir du conclave.

La réunion des cardinaux étant traitée avec les honneurs dus au souverain, ces messieurs étaient environnés des gardes nobles et des Suisses en grande tenue du quinzième siècle. Ce costume nous a semblé de fort bon goût en cette occasion. (23 février, pp. 541-42.)

Le *Diario* énumérait alors, en premier lieu, les cardinaux de l'*Ordine de' Vescovi*: Giulio Maria Della Somaglia, *Decano*; Bartolommeo Pacca, *Sotto-Decano*; Pierfrancesco Galleffi; Francesco Saverio Castiglioni; Francesco Bertazzoli. Stendhal note à son tour en écorchant toutefois le nom du dernier: "La procession commençait par les cardinaux évêques; nous en avons compté cinq: LL.EE. della Somaglia, Pacca, Galeffi, Castiglioni et Beccazzoli." Venait ensuite dans le *Diario* la longue liste des cardinaux de l'*Ordine de' Preti*; Stendhal se borne à les compter, et ne cite que le premier: "Après eux s'avançaient vingt-deux cardinaux prêtres, ayant M. le cardinal Fesch à leur tête." Enfin le *Diario*, toujours soucieux de précision, énumérait encore les cardinaux de l'*Ordine de' Diaconi*; mais Stendhal, trouvant sans doute qu'ils ne valent pas l'honneur d'être nommés, se contente d'ajouter: "et enfin cinq cardinaux diacres." Par contre, lorsqu'il remarque que "Monsignor Capeletti, gouverneur de Rome et directeur général de la police, marchait à côté du cardinal doyen, M. della Somaglia," il traduit presque mot à mot le *Diario*: "S.E. Rma Monsignor Capeletti Governatore di Roma, Vice-Camerlengo di S. Chiesa e Direttore Generale di Polizia, procedeva, secondo il cerimoniale, al fianco dell'Eño signor Cardinal Decano"; mais il note

en quelques mots: "Cette procession a été reçue à la porte du conclave par une commission de cinq cardinaux; M. Bernetti était du nombre," tandis qu'il fallait au *Diario* une longue phrase: "Gli Eñi signori Cardinali Benedetto Naro Patrizi dell'Ordine de' Preti, Pietro Vidoni, Agostino Rivarola, Cesare Guerrieri Gonzaga e Tommaso Bernetti dell'Ordine de' Diaconi erano entrati poco prima in Conclave ed attendevano alla porta i Porporati loro Confratelli."¹ Le *Diario* faisait alors un compte-rendu détaillé de toutes les cérémonies qui précédèrent la clôture: les cardinaux arrivent à la chapelle Pauline, l'*extra omnes* est prononcé, le cardinal della Somaglia exhorte le sacré collège, lecture est donnée des bulles apostoliques que tous jurent d'observer, les Conservateurs de Rome, les commandants du fort Saint-Ange et des troupes pontificales viennent prêter serment; puis Leurs Eminences passent dans leurs cellules respectives où elles reçoivent les hommages du corps diplomatique, de la noblesse et des notables de Rome. Mais Stendhal trouve plus simple d'aller dîner pendant ce temps, et de ne reprendre le *Diario* qu'au moment même de la clôture:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Dati finalmente i tre consueti segnali colla campanella, alle tre ore di notte tutti i gli estranei escirono dal Conclave, e alla presenza degli Eñi signori Cardinali Capi d'ordine, e di S.E. il signor Maresciallo, ne fù fatta la formale clausura. (25 Febbraio.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Nous sommes allés dîner, et, comme de vrais badauds, nous sommes revenus sur la place de Monte-Cavallo à trois heures de nuit (huit heures et demie du soir), pour attendre les fameux coups de cloche. Ils se sont fait entendre; toutes les personnes étrangères au conclave sont sorties; le prince Chigi a établi sa garde, et les cardinaux ont été murés. (23 février, pp. 542-43.)

A partir de ce moment, le *Diario di Roma*, jusqu'alors si prolixe, va s'enfermer dans une prudente réserve, et pendant toute la durée du conclave, ne va publier que les nouvelles les plus insignifiantes: prières *pro eligendo Summo Pontefice*, expositions du Saint-Sacrement dans les églises, processions du clergé tant séculier que régulier, arrivées de cardinaux, listes des chefs-d'ordre pour chaque jour. Comment remplir, dans les *Promenades*, les cinq interminables semaines du conclave?

¹ *Diario di Roma*, 25 Febbraio; *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 542.

Le 7 mars 1829, un jeune auditeur au Conseil d'état, M. le baron Henri Siméon, était parti pour l'Italie, porteur de plis officiels pour plusieurs légations et ambassades de S. M. Arrivé à Rome le 17 au soir, il remettait aussitôt à M. de Chateaubriand les dépêches de Portalis des 6 et 7 mars;¹ mais cette mission remplie, il s'attarda sans doute quelque temps dans la Ville Eternelle. Toujours est-il qu'il publiait en juillet dans la *Revue de Paris* le fruit de ses observations sous le titre de "Quinze jours à Rome, pendant le dernier conclave."² L'article commence, comme il se doit, par des considérations historiques, politiques et religieuses sur "la ville des élections" et l'histoire des conclaves; mais après ces graves préliminaires, le voyageur, tout auditeur qu'il soit, ose se montrer vivant et pittoresque, et esquisser d'une plume alerte quelques uns des petits côtés du conclave: le spectacle quotidien de la *fumata*, l'arrivée et la visite du dîner des cardinaux, et la proclamation faite au peuple, du haut du balcon de Monte-Cavallo et sous une pluie torrentielle, par un cardinal fort effrayé de se mouiller. Le récit s'achève d'ailleurs sur une note plus digne: le couronnement de Pie VIII, et la bénédiction papale répandue sur la Ville et sur le Monde.

Voilà qui arrive à point. Les considérations initiales, convenablement élaguées, vont donner du corps aux *Promenades*; Stendhal, avec une honnêteté rare, ne manque point d'ailleurs de les imprimer en petits caractères, et de citer en note M. Henri Siméon, en se gardant toutefois de parler de la *Revue de Paris*. Ne vaut-il pas mieux laisser entendre que le voyageur est un ami, et qu'il s'agit de remarques inédites tirées d'une correspondance particulière: "Puisque je dois parler du conclave, je cède à la tentation de citer quelques fragments d'une lettre écrite de Rome par un jeune diplomate. Il est des familles dans lesquelles l'esprit et les talents sont héréditaires..." Après quoi, il

¹ Dépêche de Chateaubriand à Portalis, 19 mars 1829, Archives des Affaires étrangères, Rome 1829. Sur le baron Siméon, voir aux Archives des Affaires étrangères le dossier Siméon: 1° lettre du ministre introduisant le baron Siméon auprès de MM. de Vitrolles, de Chateaubriand et de Blacas; 2° lettre du ministre au baron Siméon, en date du 3 avril 1829, lui annonçant que le roi, sur la proposition du ministre, a bien voulu l'attacher au département des Affaires étrangères. Il joua sans doute à Rome le rôle d'observateur officieux du ministre. La Monarchie de Juillet le fera préfet.

² "Quinze jours à Rome, pendant le dernier conclave," par M. le baron Henri Siméon, *Revue de Paris*, IV (juillet 1829), 33-42. Le baron Siméon avait déjà commis en 1824 un poème *Aux Grecs sur la mort de lord Byron*; il allait publier en octobre 1829 une œuvre plus grave: *Du Conseil d'état considéré dans son organisation actuelle et dans les améliorations qu'il serait nécessaire d'y introduire*.

transcrit la *Revue de Paris*, non sans quelques retouches: de savantes coupures donnent au développement si grave de Siméon l'allure décousue d'une lettre écrite au courant de la plume, d'ingénieuses lignes de points laissent soupçonner la suppression de détails trop confidentiels ou trop dangereux. Stendhal se permet même, avec une étonnante désinvolture, de corriger et de condenser le texte qu'il prétend citer:

REVUE DE PARIS

On avait condamné le passage de cette petite rue, en la fermant à chacune de ses extrémités par une cloison de planches recouvertes de vieilles tapisseries. Un factionnaire suisse, vêtu comme au treizième siècle, avec une hallebarde et une culotte mi-partie de rouge et de jaune, montait la garde pour protéger cette faible barrière. On eût cru voir les préparatifs d'une parade de foire.

La porte d'entrée du palais était ouverte, mais gardée par un poste nombreux de Suisses. Les fenêtres de la façade au premier étage, étaient fermées par des persiennes; celle du milieu, au-dessus de la grande porte, et donnant sur un balcon, avait seule été murée. (Pp. 37-38.)

La citation achevée, et M. Henri Siméon discrètement nommé, Stendhal semble avoir définitivement pris congé de son jeune diplomate. Ce n'est qu'une feinte. Sous la date du 6 mars, dès le troisième paragraphe, il le remet à contribution, sans guillemets:

REVUE DE PARIS

De la fenêtre la plus voisine de celle qui était murée, sortait un tuyau de poêle long de sept ou huit pieds. Ce tuyau joue un rôle important pendant le conclave. (P. 38.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Les deux extrémités de la rue Pia sont fermées par une cloison de planches recouverte de vieilles tapisseries. Un factionnaire suisse, vêtu comme au quatorzième siècle, et armé d'une longue hallebarde, protège cette faible barrière.

La grande porte du palais de Monte-Cavallo est ouverte, mais gardée par un poste nombreux. Les fenêtres de la façade, au premier étage, sont fermées par des persiennes. Celle du milieu, au-dessus de la grande porte, et donnant sur un balcon, a seule été murée.¹ (P. 547.)

1. M. Henri Siméon.

PROMENADES DANS ROME

De la fenêtre la plus voisine de celle qui a été murée dans la façade du palais de Monte-Cavallo qui regarde les chevaux de grandeur colossale, sort un tuyau de poêle long de sept à huit pieds. Ce tuyau joue un grand rôle pendant le conclave. (5 mars, p. 548.)

Une docte parenthèse sur le cérémonial des scrutins journaliers¹ répare une négligence de Siméon, qui est cependant jugé digne de fournir la suite du récit :

REVUE DE PARIS

Deux fois par jour, à la suite des scrutins qui ont lieu régulièrement matin et soir, il fixe l'attention de la foule assemblée sur la place; la fumée qui s'en échappe annonce que le scrutin est nul et qu'il a été brûlé, et chaque fois, cette *fumata* vient exciter les gros rires de la populace. (P. 38.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Deux fois par jour, quand les cardinaux chargés du scrutin ont reconnu qu'aucun cardinal n'a obtenu les deux tiers des suffrages, on brûle les petits billets, et la fumée s'échappe par le tuyau de poêle dont je viens de parler: c'est ce qu'on appelle la *fumata*. A chaque fois cette *fumata* excite le gros rire du peuple assemblé en foule sur la place de Monte-Cavallo, et qui songe au désappointement des ambitions; chacun se retire en disant: "Allons, nous n'avons point de pape pour aujourd'hui." (5 mars, p. 549.)

C'est du *Diario di Roma* des 4 et 7 mars que vient la nouvelle de l'arrivée et de l'entrée au conclave des cardinaux Ruffo-Scilla et Gaysruck, consignée dans les *Promenades* à la date du 6 mars; mais Stendhal nous divertit ensuite d'un piquant tableau de la procession et de la visite des dîners cardinalices, car dans la *Revue de Paris* ce tableau suivait immédiatement celui de la *fumata*:

REVUE DE PARIS

Les dîners des cardinaux arrivaient, et la manière dont on les apporte n'est pas un des détails les moins curieux de la cérémonie. La livrée du cardinal à qui le repas est destiné, marche en avant, en nombre plus ou moins considérable, suivant la richesse du patron; vient ensuite un brancard porté par deux *faquini*, et sur lequel est un grand panier décoré des armes du cardinal: ce

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Nous avons eu ce matin le spectacle de l'arrivée du dîner des cardinaux; chaque dîner occasionne une procession qui traverse Rome au petit pas. D'abord s'avance la livrée du cardinal, en nombre plus ou moins considérable, suivant la richesse du patron. (La livrée la plus brillante est celle du cardinal de Gregorio.)

Vient ensuite un brancard porté par deux *fachini*, sur lequel est un

¹ La plupart des journaux publièrent alors des articles documentaires sur le fonctionnement du conclave; Stendhal a pu aussi s'inspirer de l'*Essai historique sur les cérémonies du conclave, pour l'élection du pape, et sur l'origine des cardinaux*, dont la seconde édition (la première date de 1823) fut publiée le 28 février 1829.

panier contient le dîner; derrière suivent deux ou trois voitures de gala. Un cortège semblable part tous les jours du palais de chaque cardinal et traverse la ville au petit pas. Plusieurs cortèges étaient déjà entrés dans la cour du palais; nous les suivîmes. (P. 38.)

Un jeune abbé, véritable Providence des attachés, avait entraîné le baron Siméon à Monte-Cavallo pour assister à la visite des dîners; un mystérieux monsignor N*** accompagne Stendhal:

REVUE DE PARIS

Le costume ecclésiastique de mon guide nous fit ouvrir les rangs des gardes, et après avoir traversé la cour, nous arrivâmes à une salle provisoire construite en planches et en tapisseries, au fond de laquelle on avait établi deux tours.

Nous entrâmes dans cette salle en même temps que les corbeilles du cardinal F***. "Vous faites bien d'arriver, nous dit l'évêque de***; on va visiter le dîner du Lucullus du conclave." On procéda en effet à l'ouverture du bienheureux panier, qui répandit aussitôt une odeur des plus appétissantes. On en sortait les plats un à un; on les remettait dans les mains de l'évêque, dont la visite avait pour but de prévenir toute correspondance occulte. Il flairait les mets, et ce n'était pas quelquefois sans une sorte de convoitise. "Qu'on est heureux, disait-il, d'avoir un cuisinier français! Ce n'est pas chose commune dans le sacré collège." A mesure que les plats se succédaient, il les remettait à un employé inférieur qui les plaçait dans le tour... On procéda ensuite à la visite de plusieurs autres corbeilles. (Pp. 38-39.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Grâces à monsignor N***, nous avons assisté ce matin à la visite des dîners; plusieurs cortèges étaient déjà arrivés. Après avoir passé la porte, non sans peine, et traversé la grande cour du palais de Monte-Cavallo, nous sommes arrivés à une salle provisoire, construite en planches et en tapisseries, au fond de laquelle on a établi deux tours.

Là un évêque procédait à la visite des dîners. On ouvre les paniers, on remet les plats un à un dans les mains de l'évêque, dont la visite devrait avoir pour but de prévenir toute correspondance. L'évêque regardait les plats d'un air grave, les flairait quand ils avaient bonne mine, et les remettait à un employé subalterne, qui les plaçait dans le tour. Il est clair que chaque dîner pouvait contenir, dans le corps des poulets ou au fond des timbales de légumes, cinq ou six billets. (6 mars, pp. 550-51.)

Stendhal et Monsignor N*** ont alors la surprise de voir arriver par le tour un billet portant deux numéros destinés à la loterie, car le baron Siméon et son guide avaient été témoins d'un incident semblable :

REVUE DE PARIS

Comme nous allions nous retirer, on fit passer par le tour, de l'intérieur du conclave, un billet qui contenait deux numéros, 28 et 15, avec prière de les mettre à la loterie. —Comment, demandai-je à mon abbé, est-ce que les cardinaux jouent à la loterie?—Certainement, répondit-il, tout le monde y met à Rome. Mais ces numéros, quoiqu'en apparence destinés à la loterie, cachent une correspondance chiffrée. Les cellules dans lesquelles habitent les cardinaux sont numérotées; ainsi l'on sait, suivant l'ordre de leur arrivée au conclave, quel est le numéro de la cellule de chacun. Ce billet si simple est une manière innocente de faire connaître à leurs amis le nombre de voix qu'ils ont obtenues au scrutin. Ainsi, par exemple, ces deux numéros apprendront à ceux qui sont initiés que le cardinal ***, habitant la cellule 28, a eu 15 voix hier au soir. (P. 39.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Comme après la visite de deux ou trois dîners toute cette cuisine nous ennuyait, et que nous étions sur le point de nous retirer, nous avons vu arriver par le tour, de l'intérieur du conclave, un billet qui contenait deux numéros, 25 et 17, avec prière de les mettre à la loterie. Ces jeux de hasard sont une des grandes passions des Italiens. Un Romain est-il abandonné par sa maîtresse, il ne néglige pas de mettre à la loterie le nombre d'années de sa maîtresse, et le quantième du mois indiqué par le jour de la rupture. Le mot même d'*infidélité*, cherché dans le dictionnaire *del Lotto*, correspond, si je ne me trompe, au nombre trente-sept. Les numéros arrivés de l'intérieur pouvaient aussi signifier que, dans le scrutin de ce matin, le cardinal qui occupe l'appartement n° 25 a eu 17 voix, ou tout autre chose. Ces deux numéros 17 et 25 ont été fidèlement remis à un domestique du cardinal P. (6 mars, pp. 551-52.)

L'article du baron Siméon n'offrait ensuite rien d'utilisable que le récit de la visite faite par M. de Chateaubriand à Leurs Eminences le 10 mars. Mais Stendhal n'est pas embarrassé pour si peu. Pour couronner la journée du 6 mars, il emprunte au *Diario* du 4 mars la liste des cardinaux chefs-d'ordre pour les 5, 6 et 7 mars. Quant à la journée du 7, il la consacre à l'élection manquée du cardinal de Gregorio: le conclave, craignant une exclusion, essaie de se mettre d'accord avant l'arrivée d'Albani; le 7 mars au soir, à l'accessit, l'élection semble faite, de Gregorio a obtenu les deux tiers des suffrages et va être adoré; "malheureusement M. le cardinal Benvenuti avait

fait de l'esprit en ajoutant une phrase ou deux à son vote, qui a été déclaré nul. Sur le champ on a tout préparé pour réussir demain matin; mais ce soir même, M. le cardinal Albani est entré au conclave; tout est perdu."¹ De ces intrigues le *Diario di Roma* se garde bien de souffler mot, mais les journaux français sont moins discrets: de Gregorio aurait obtenu, selon la *Gazette de France* 23 voix, et selon le *Moniteur universel* 27, au scrutin du 6 mars. Peut-être Stendhal, tout en prétendant rapporter les *on-dit* de Rome, s'inspire-t-il simplement de la *Gazette* et du *Moniteur*; mais il se trompe, en tout cas, d'un jour et de quelques votes: c'est le 6 et non pas le 7 que de Gregorio fut bien près d'être élu, à l'*accessit* du matin et non pas à l'*accessit* du soir, par 24 voix selon le *Diario di Monsignor Pietro Dardano* ou 25 selon le *Journal d'un conclave*, et non point par les deux tiers des votes.² Ni le *Diario* ni le *Journal* ne fait allusion au contre-temps provoqué par le cardinal Benvenuti; mais Stendhal ne prend-il pas la précaution de dire: "Je puis répondre que voilà ce qu'on raconte dans les cercles les mieux informés; est-ce la vérité?"

Du 7 mars, les *Promenades* passent au 9: "On n'a plus le courage de s'occuper du conclave. Nous sommes allés passer les journées d'hier et d'aujourd'hui à Tivoli." Plaisante façon de cacher au lecteur que ni le *Diario di Roma* ni la *Revue de Paris* ne contiennent, pour le 8 et le 9, de matériaux intéressants. En revanche, sous la date du 10, le récit de la visite et du discours de Chateaubriand au conclave combine habilement les deux sources:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Venivano appresso per ordine le carrozze di tutti gli E^mi signori Cardinali, i quali per una particolar gentilezza verso S.M. Cristianissima e il suo degno Rappresentante, aveano fatto sapere ai loro Maestri di Camera e Gentiluomini di far corteggio. (18 Marzo.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

M. de Chateaubriand a fait un discours au conclave. Par une distinction flatteuse, son carrosse, en allant à Monte-Cavallo, était suivi des carrosses de tous les cardinaux: ces messieurs, de l'intérieur du conclave, avaient donné des ordres à cet effet.

¹ *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 552-54.

² *Diario di Monsignor Pietro Dardano*, publié par D. Silvagni, *La Corte e la Società Romana*, III, 272; *Journal d'un conclave*, p. 13. Chateaubriand dit 24 voix dans sa dépêche du 6 mars à Portalis, citée par M.-J. Durry, *op. cit.*, p. 75; de même le marquis de Crosa dans sa dépêche du 7 mars à la cour de Sardaigne, citée par Della Gattina, *Histoire diplomatique des conclaves*, IV, 378. Il fallait les deux tiers des suffrages, soit 28 voix, pour être élu.

REVUE DE PARIS

L'ambassadeur de France avait harangué le sacré collège, et c'était dans cette même salle où avait lieu la visite des corbeilles, près de ce même tour destiné à passer les plats, que l'illustre envoyé du Roi très-chrétien avait fait entendre sa voix éloquente. Une ouverture, pouvant permettre le passage d'une noix, était la seule communication qui existât entre lui et la députation du conclave. (P. 40.)

C'est dans la salle où a lieu la visite des dîners que M. de Chateaubriand a parlé, vis-à-vis d'une petite ouverture où un œuf n'aurait pu passer. De l'autre côté de ce trou était la députation du conclave. (10 mars, p. 555.)

Entre les deux il glisse un éloge rapide de Chateaubriand: "M. de Chateaubriand a donné de belles fêtes; il a fait faire des fouilles; il annonce le projet d'élever un tombeau au Poussin; il a été poli envers M. le C^{al}. Fesch. Il me semble que ce personnage illustre a réussi auprès des cardinaux"; ce sont là précisément quelques uns des points sur lesquels insiste le *Diario* dans le long panégyrique qu'il fait le 16 mai de Chateaubriand, en annonçant son départ pour la France.

Du 10 mars, Stendhal nous fait sauter au 15; encore ne trouve-t-il alors rien d'autre à noter, en s'inspirant de Siméon, que le mécontentement du peuple qui craint d'être privé de sa Semaine-Sainte; puis du 15 il nous fait sauter au 20, pour nous confier quelques remarques sur le cardinal Giustiniani et l'intérêt pris par la France et l'Autriche à la nomination du pape; et du 20 il nous fait enfin sauter d'un bond au 31: mais alors quelle revanche! On vient l'avertir qu'il n'y a pas eu de *fumata* ce matin-là, il court à Monte-Cavallo, et passe malgré la pluie trois heures à attendre sur la place; puis il appelle Siméon à la rescousse:

REVUE DE PARIS

On attendait depuis plusieurs heures: rien ne paraissait, et des cris d'impatience se faisaient entendre, lorsque tout à coup une petite pierre se détacha de la fenêtre murée. Ce fut le signal des acclamations générales. Peu à peu, l'ouverture s'agrandit, et au bout de quelques minutes, le marteau eut pratiqué une brèche

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Peu à peu l'attente, dans une situation si incommode, a mis le peuple en colère, et dans ces circonstances tout le monde est peuple. C'est en vain que j'essayerais de vous peindre les transports de joie et d'impatience qui, en un clin d'œil, nous ont tous agités, lorsqu'une petite pierre s'est détachée de cette fenêtre

assez grande pour laisser arriver un homme sur le balcon. Un cardinal se présenta, mais effrayé par la pluie, il n'osa probablement pas se risquer en plein air, par un pareil temps, après avoir été si longtemps renfermé. Il est certain qu'il rebroussa chemin. Dès lors, la colère du peuple n'eut plus de bornes: des huées, des épithètes grossières, poursuivirent le pauvre cardinal. (P. 41.)

murée donnant sur le balcon et sur laquelle tous les yeux étaient fixés. Une acclamation générale nous a assourdis. L'ouverture s'est agrandie rapidement, et, en peu de minutes, la brèche a été assez large pour permettre à un homme de s'avancer sur le balcon.

Un cardinal s'est présenté: nous avons cru reconnaître M. le cardinal Albani; mais effrayé de l'horrible averse qu'il faisait en ce moment, ce cardinal n'a pas osé se hasarder à la pluie après une si longue réclusion. Après une demi-seconde d'incertitude, il a reculé. Qui pourrait peindre à ce moment la colère du peuple, ses cris de fureur, ses imprécations grossières? (31 mars, pp. 558-59.)

Mais c'est au *Diario*, toujours d'une minutieuse exactitude en ce qui concerne le cérémonial, qu'il emprunte la formule latine de la proclamation:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Intanto, aperta la loggia sopra la gran porta del Quirinale, l'Eŕmo sig. Card. Albani, primo Diacono, annunziò al Popolo il nuovo Pontefice colle seguenti parole: *Annuncio Vobis gaudium magnum: Papam habemus Eŕmum ac Rŕmum Dominum Franciscum Xaverium Episcopum Tusculanum S.R.E. Cardinalem Castiglioni, qui sibi nomen imposuit Pius VIII.* (1 Aprile.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

La pluie a diminué un instant; le cardinal Albani s'est avancé sur le balcon; cette foule immense a jeté un soupir de contentement; après quoi il s'est fait un silence à entendre voler une mouche.

Le cardinal a dit: *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, Papam habemus Eminentissimum et Reverendissimum Dominum* (l'attention a redoublé) *Franciscum-Xaverium, Episcopum Tusculanum, Sacrae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem Castiglioni, qui sibi nomen imposuit Pius VIII.* (31 mars, pp. 559-60.)

Par contre, le *Diario* constatait un peu sommairement les sentiments de la foule: "a tale annunzio il popolo, che in folla occupava la piazza nonostante la pioggia che a diritto cadeva da ben due ore, riempì l'aria di vivissimi applausi." Stendhal a l'oreille plus fine:

“Aux mots de *Franciscum-Xaverium*, quelques personnes très instruites des noms des cardinaux ont deviné le cardinal Castiglioni; j’ai entendu prononcer ce nom fort distinctement; aux mots *Episcopum Tusculanum*, vingt voix ont répété ce nom, mais à voix très basse, afin de ne rien perdre de ce que disait le cardinal Albani. Au nom de *Castiglioni*, il y a eu comme un cri supprimé, suivi d’un mouvement de joie marqué.” Puis il revient à Siméon, qui faisait de la fin de la cérémonie une relation plus détaillée que le *Diario*:

REVUE DE PARIS

Il proclama le nom du nouveau pape, jeta un papier sur lequel ce nom était écrit, et battit des mains. Des applaudissements universels lui répondirent, et au même instant, le canon du château Saint-Ange annonça à la capitale du monde chrétien cet heureux événement. (P. 41.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Avant de se retirer, le cardinal Albani a jeté au peuple un papier contenant les mêmes mots qu’il venait de prononcer. Il a fini par battre des mains. Des applaudissements universels lui ont répondu; au même instant le canon du fort Saint-Ange a annoncé ce grand événement au peuple de la ville et des campagnes. (31 mars, p. 560.)

Stendhal a bien employé sa journée, il ne lui reste qu’à rentrer bien vite se chauffer. Le lendemain, il n’oublie point de tirer du *Diario*, qui a retrouvé son abondance et son onction, quelques détails sur le cérémonial de l’élection:

DIARIO DI ROMA

È piaciuto alla ineffabile Provvidenza, ascoltando i voti di tutti i Fedeli, di porre un termine alla vedovanza della Santa Chiesa, dopo 49 giorni di Sede vacante e 36 di Conclave. L’Eño e Rño sig. Card. Francesco Saverio Castiglioni, Vescovo Tusculano, Penitenziere Maggiore, e Prefetto della Sacra Congregazione dell’Indice, è stato eletto Sommo Pontefice nello scrutinio di jeri mattina. Richiesto l’eletto dall’Eño sig. Card. Giulio Maria della Somaglia, Decano del Sacro Collegio, se accettava la suprema dignità della Chiesa, uniformossi alla Divina volontà, e s’impose il nome di Pio VIII. Allo-

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Pie VIII a été nommé après quarante-neuf jours de siège vacant et trente-six jours de conclave. Notre ami H*** gagne son pari de mille guinées. La nomination du cardinal Castiglioni a été décidée dans la nuit. Il a été élu au scrutin du matin. Le cardinal della Somaglia lui ayant demandé s’il acceptait, il lui a répondu *oui*, sans phrases, et a choisi le nom de Pie VIII.

Aussitôt monsignor Zucchi, notaire du Saint-Siège, a dressé procès-verbal de l’élection.

MM. les cardinaux Albani et Caccia-Piatti ont accompagné le nouvel élu dans la sacristie de la

ra Monsignor Zucchè, Prefetto delle Ceremonie, come Notaro della Sede Apostolica, rogò l'atto dell'accettazione.

Quindi gli Eñi e Rñi signori Cardinali Albani e Caccia-Piatti, primi Diaconi, accompagnarono il nuovo Eletto nella Sacrestia, in cui fu vestito degli abiti Pontificali. Dipoi lo seguirono all'altare della Cappella del Quirinale, dove postosi il S. Padre sulla predella ricevè dagli Eñi signori Cardinali la prima ubbidienza, ossia adorazione, col bacio della mano, e col doppio amplesso.

Appresso quest'atto l'Eño e Rño signor Card. Galleffi, Camerlengo della S.R.C., gli consegnò l'anello Piscatorio. (1 Aprile.)

C'est à la même source qu'il puise les nouveaux renseignements qu'il consigne dans les *Promenades* sous la date du 1^{er} avril au soir:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Questa mattina alle ore 15 Sua Santità, avendo seco in carrozza gli Eñi e Rñi signori Cardinali Della Somaglia Decano del Sacro Collegio e Galleffi Camerlengo di S.R.C., si è recata, fra gli applausi universali, dal Quirinale al Vaticano, dove essendo ascesa alla Cappella di Sisto IV, ha ivi ricevuto la seconda adorazione dagli Eñi signori Cardinali col bacio del piede e della mano sotto il fregio del Piviale, e col solito amplesso.

Dopo ciò Sua Beatitudine, preceduta dalla Prelatura, e dagli Eñi e Rñi signori Cardinali, è discesa in Sedia gestatoria nella Basilica Vaticana, dove si è fermata a adorare l'Augustissimo Sacramento. Poscia è passata all'Altare della Confessione, in cui si è posta a sedere nel mezzo della Mensa sopra un cuscino rosso.

chappelle Pauline, où il a été revêtu des habits pontificaux. On en avait préparé pour trois tailles différentes.

Le pape s'est ensuite placé sur l'autel de la chapelle Pauline, et a reçu la première adoration, qui consiste dans le baiser de la main et un double embrassement. M. le cardinal Galeffi, camerlingue, lui a remis l'anneau du pêcheur. (1^{er} avril, pp. 562-63.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Ce matin, sur les quinze heures (neuf heures du matin), le nouveau pape s'est rendu du Palais Quirinal au Vatican. Il a été salué avec enthousiasme. Le peuple disait: "Mais qui choisira-t-il pour secrétaire d'état?" Les Romains ne savent pas encore que le cardinal Albani a été nommé hier par un *motu proprio*, écrit de la main du pape. Nous avons reconnu, dans le carrosse de Sa Sainteté MM. les C^{aux}. della Somaglia e Galleffi. Nous avons vu le pape sur le grand autel de Saint-Pierre. On a chanté le *Te Deum*, et Pie VIII a reçu la troisième adoration. (1^{er} avril au soir, p. 563.)

Quindi l'Eŕno e Rŕno signor Cardinal Decano ha intonato l'Inno Ambrogiano, proseguito dai Cappellani Ponteficj. Durante il canto di detto Inno gli Eŕni e Rŕni Cardinali hanno prestato al S. Padre la terza e pubblica adorazione. (1 Aprile.)

Stendhal, que ces rites interminables ennuiant, imagine de se faire raconter entre temps par Monsignor N*** la vie du pontife; mais Monsignor N*** venait sans doute de la lire dans le *Diario*:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Sua Santità ebbe i suoi nobili natali in Cingoli, città della Marca d'Ancona, il 20 di novembre 1761. Fu dalla San. Mem. di Pio VII nominato Vescovo di Montalto nel Concistoro degli 11 di agosto del 1800. Nelle vicende politiche del 1808 fu relegato nelle provincie meridionali di Francia, in cui rimase sino al 1814. Nel Concistoro degli 8 di marzo 1816 fu traslatato dalla Chiesa Vescovile di Montalto a quella di Cesena, e creato Cardinal Prete del Titolo di S. Maria in Traspontina. Non molto dopo, attese le profonde sue cognizioni specialmente in ogni genere di sacre dottrine, fu nominato Penitenziere Maggiore. (1 Aprile.)

Quelques remarques sur le cardinal Albani semblent ensuite des remarques personnelles, mais la nouvelle de sa nomination au poste de Secrétaire d'Etat, ainsi que la nouvelle des dignités conférées aux cardinaux Pacca et de' Gregorio, est encore tirée du *Diario* du 1^{er} avril:

DIARIO DI ROMA

La Santità Sua, con venerato autografo Decreto in data di jeri, si è degnata nominare suo Segretario di Stato l'Eŕno signor Cardinal Albani.

Con biglietti di Segretaria di Stato della stessa data, il Santo Padre

PROMENADES DANS ROME

François-Xavier Castiglioni est né à Cingoli, petite ville de la Marche d'Ancône, le 20 novembre 1761; il fut d'abord évêque de Montalto; le 8 mars 1816, il fut fait cardinal et évêque de Césène par Pie VII. Ce fut à cette occasion que ce pape dit: "*Il viendra après moi.*" Bientôt on sentit qu'il fallait un homme instruit pour la place de grand pénitencier, car la tradition des usages était interrompue, et le cardinal Castiglioni fut nommé uniquement à cause de sa profonde science. (1^{er} avril au soir, pp. 563-64.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Les Romains ne savent pas encore que le cardinal Albani a été nommé hier par un *motu proprio*, écrit de la main du pape.

Le nouveau secrétaire d'état vient d'annoncer à M. le cardinal de'

degnossi pure di confermare in Pro-Datario Sua Eñza il sig. Cardinal Pacca, e di nominare Penitenziere Maggiore Sua Eñza il signor Cardinal de Gregorio. (1 Aprile.)

Gregorio qu'il était nommé grand pénitencier, et à M. le cardinal Pacca qu'il était confirmé dans sa place de *pro-datario*. (1^{er} avril au soir, pp. 563, 564.)

Sous la date du 4 avril, les *Promenades* empruntent encore au *Diario* du même jour, non seulement l'annonce que le cardinal Bernetti vient d'être nommé légat à Bologne, mais aussi la nouvelle d'une distribution d'aumônes aux pauvres de Rome:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Questa mattina poi, per anticipata letizia della Coronazione del S. Padre, è stata da Monsig. Soglia, Arcivescovo di Efeso e Limosiniere della Santità Sua, dispensata la limosina di un paolo per testa a tutti i poveri della Capitale nel solito cortile di Belvedere del Palazzo Pontificio Vaticano. (4 Aprile.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

A l'occasion de l'exaltation du pape, Mgr. Soglia, aumônier de sa Sainteté, vient de distribuer une aumône d'un *paolo* par tête aux pauvres de Rome rassemblés dans la cour du Belvédère au Vatican. Un élève de Gall nous avait engagés à voir ce spectacle d'une fenêtre basse du palais. (4 avril, p. 565.)

Et si Stendhal se souvient alors tout à coup qu'il a "oublié de dire que le 1^{er} et le 2 avril il y a eu de grandes illuminations," c'est que le *Diario* lui-même, qui paraissait tous les trois jours, n'en avait pu parler que le 4.

La journée du 5 avril s'ouvre dans les *Promenades* sur la nouvelle du couronnement de Pie VIII à Saint-Pierre; mais tout, jusqu'à la "belle journée de printemps," est extrait du *Diario* du 8:

DIARIO DI ROMA

La mattina di domenica 5 del corrente fu destinata per la cerimonia della fausta Incoronazione della Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Pio VIII. Favorì il Cielo al grand'atto di letizia, poichè alla dirotta pioggia che fu continua in tutto l'antecedente giorno, seguì improvvisamente il sereno di un delle più belle giornate di primavera.

Circa le ore 14 italiane la Santità Sua dal Palazzo Apostolico Quirinale recossi al Vaticano, avendo seco in carrozza gli Eñi e Rñi signori

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Belle journée de printemps. Ce matin, dans Saint-Pierre, nous avons assisté au couronnement de Pie VIII; à quatorze heures (huit heures et demie du matin) nous avons vu sa Sainteté arriver du Quirinal à Saint-Pierre; par politesse pour la France et l'Autriche, le pape avait pris dans son carrosse MM. les cardinaux de La Fare et Gaysruck, le digne archevêque de Milan. (5 avril, pp. 565-66.)

Cardinali Gaysruck Arcivescovo di
Milano e De-la-Fare Arcivescovo di
Sens. (8 Aprile.)

Mais Stendhal se fatigue de toutes ces pompes, auxquelles le *Diario* consacre dix pages débordantes d'une pieuse allégresse: trois lignes suffisent à l'impertinent pour expédier le tout: "La cérémonie de Saint-Pierre a été fort belle, immense concours de peuple et d'étrangers; tout le monde était parfaitement à l'aise tant cette église est vaste." Puis du 5 avril il saute au 12, pour résumer en un court paragraphe les cérémonies du Dimanche des Rameaux, si longuement décrites par le *Diario* du 15:

DIARIO DI ROMA

Nella Domenica delle Palme, che negli antichi Ordini Romani viene chiamata *dei Rami, dei Fiori, degli Osanna*, occorsa in quest'anno il dì 12 del corrente, fu tenuta Cappella Papale nella Sistina del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano. V'intervenne la Santità di Nostro Signore, che ascesa in trono ricevè all'obbedienza gli Eñi signori Cardinali, e quindi fece la benedizione e distribuzione delle Palme, rito praticato fin dal IX secolo sotto il Pontificato di Papa Giovanni VIII. Ebbe luogo poscia la consueta Processione per la sala Regia. Sua Beatitudine era portata in sedia gestatoria sotto il baldacchino....(15 Aprile.)

PROMENADES DANS ROME

Première chapelle papale tenue par Pie VIII; il y avait un monde énorme; le pape a distribué des rameaux; il y a eu procession dans la salle royale; sa Sainteté était portée en chaise *gestatoria* (comme Jules II, dans l'Héliodore chassé du temple de Raphael). (12 avril, p. 566.)

C'est le dernier effort d'une plume défaillante: Stendhal sent le cœur lui manquer. Du 12 avril il passe brusquement au 23, pour nous dire que "les cérémonies de la Semaine-Sainte ont été magnifiques," qu'il n'a pas le courage de les décrire, et nous renvoyer cavalièrement à "un petit volume de quatre-vingt-deux pages, publié en français de Rome par M. l'abbé Cancelieri." Il fait quelques remarques sur les étrangers qui se pressent à Rome, il note au passage, d'après le *Diario* du 22 avril, que le Saint-Père vient d'accorder deux séances au sculpteur Fabris, puis il annonce son prochain départ. Mais avant de partir, il a encore le temps d'apprendre que l'on vient de trouver,

“écrit en lettres énormes, avec de la craie blanche, en vingt endroits de Rome, et à la porte du palais de Monte-Cavallo, où réside le pape,” ce mot d’Alfieri: “*Siam servi sì, ma servi ognor frementi.*” Pourquoi faut-il que nous lisions dans *Corinne*: “D’autres peuples, interrompit Corinne, ont supporté le joug comme nous, et ils ont de moins l’imagination qui fait rêver une autre destinée: *Servi siam, sì, ma servi ognor frementi. Nous sommes des esclaves, mais des esclaves toujours frémissants*, dit Alfieri, le plus fier de nos écrivains modernes...” Le piquant, c’est qu’Alfieri avait dit: “*Schiavi or siam, sì; ma schiavi almen frementi.*”¹

C’est donc de Paris et de son fauteuil, à travers le *Diario di Roma* et la *Revue de Paris*, que M. de Stendhal a vu se dérouler à Rome les obsèques de Léon XII, les intrigues du conclave, et le couronnement de Pie VIII. Mais s’ensuit-il qu’il ait mal vu, et ce voyageur imaginaire ne saurait-il être un historien véridique?

En fait, il a d’abord le mérite d’avoir su choisir ses sources. A moins de consulter les pièces d’archives, où trouver meilleure documentation que le *Diario*, journal officiel du Saint-Siège? C’est la chronologie la plus minutieuse et le récit le plus autorisé de toutes les cérémonies, la description la plus compétente de tous les rites, la liste la plus complète de tous les personnages, le compte-rendu le plus fidèle de tous les discours. Mais consulté seul, ce document indispensable serait insuffisant: du conclave même il ne dit presque rien, et par ailleurs son point de vue est trop exclusivement apostolique et romain. Aussi Stendhal le complète-t-il à l’aide du témoignage profane du baron Siméon, qui sous couleur d’aller admirer les monuments, s’est rendu de sa personne en Italie pour remplir, semble-t-il, une mission officieuse: l’article de la *Revue de Paris*, incomparablement moins complet que le *Diario*, mais aussi incomparablement plus vivant, montre le côté humain d’événements dont le *Diario* ne veut voir que la pompe sacrée. Enfin, il ne faut pas oublier qu’après le conclave de 1823 Stendhal a séjourné plusieurs semaines à Rome; qu’il s’y est ménagé, s’il faut l’en croire, des intelligences auprès de personnes bien informées; qu’il a été en mesure de publier en 1824 dans le *New Monthly Magazine* et en 1825 dans le *London Magazine* les détails les plus curieux sur Annibal della Genga et sur le dernier conclave; qu’il

¹ *Promenades dans Rome*, II, 568; *Corinne*, liv. IV, chap. III; *Il Misogallo*, son. XVIII.

a eu l'occasion, lors de son voyage de 1827, de renouer ses amitiés romaines, et qu'il a sans doute reçu en 1829 plus d'une lettre de Rome.

De cette masse de matériaux, il a su faire de judicieux extraits. Il ne pouvait songer à suivre pas à pas le *Diario*, qui aurait à lui seul rempli un volume; aussi ne lui emprunte-t-il que le récit des faits essentiels et des cérémonies marquantes, sans compter quelques détails insignifiants destinés à donner à son journal un air d'ingénuité. Encore ne suffisait-il pas de choisir, il fallait abréger. Le *Diario* va toujours du même pas souverainement paisible et lent: il n'omet pas un geste, car il s'agit d'une matière sacrée; il n'oublie ni un *Eminentissimo*, ni un *Excellentissimo*, ni un titre, ni une fonction, car il est soucieux de hiérarchie; et l'on se sent pénétré, à le lire, d'un invincible sentiment d'éternité. Mais Stendhal est pressé, il résume effrontément, et de cette prose dodue il fait un écorché. Quant à l'article de Siméon, il offrait une matière moins indigeste: Stendhal y trouve des scènes pleines d'observations malicieuses, contées en un style alerte qui demande à peine quelques retouches, et il les fait passer presque mot à mot dans les *Promenades* lorsque le *Diario* lui fait défaut. Au besoin, il met à contribution les deux sources à la fois, empruntant à l'une le cérémonial, à l'autre le pittoresque. Enfin il sème le tout d'observations tirées sans doute de ses sources particulières ou de son expérience personnelle.

Il lui arrive malgré tout de mettre le pape en bière un jour trop tôt, de le hisser dans sa niche une semaine trop tard, de fixer au 7 l'élection manquée du 6, de mal pointer un scrutin, de nous révéler des secrets que les documents ne confirment pas, et de maltraiter quelque peu le cérémonial et la liturgie. Mais, dans l'ensemble, le récit des *Promenades* semble d'une exactitude fort honorable: plus bref, mais plus critique que celui du *Diario*, plus ample et mieux documenté que celui de la *Revue de Paris*, il combine les qualités des deux. Cependant son vrai mérite est ailleurs.

C'est en effet la forme désinvolte du journal de voyage qu'adopte Stendhal. Il ne nous décrit point les événements dans leur suite idéale et ininterrompue, mais tels qu'ils lui sont apparus, avec d'inévitables lacunes et une perspective toute personnelle. Jamais il ne se laisse oublier, car il rapporte tout à lui-même. Il ne nous dit point seulement qu'on a mis une garde au palais Chigi, mais qu'il l'a remarquée; qu'on

a fait trois processions, mais qu'il les a rencontrées; que les reclus communiquent avec la ville, mais qu'il a vu sortir un billet chiffré; qu'il pleuvait à verse, mais qu'il a été tout mouillé; que le pape avait dans sa voiture deux cardinaux, mais qu'il les a reconnus au passage. Il nous rappelle sans cesse qu'il a joui de privilèges rares: il a appris dès le 5 la maladie du pape, c'est qu'il se trouvait au bon moment chez Mme Marentani; il a pu avoir la mise en bière, bien que les rideaux du chœur fussent fermés, c'est que quelque étrangers ont été admis dans la tribune; il a pu jeter un coup d'œil sur les cellules du conclave, c'est une faveur aussi dangereuse que compromettante; il a vu fermer le cercueil, la nuit, à Saint-Pierre, c'est par grande protection; il a assisté à la visite du dîner des cardinaux, c'est grâce à Monsignor N***. Il ne manque pas une occasion de faire ressortir les prévenances qu'a pour lui cet homme supérieur, cette âme généreuse et romanesque: à Saint-Pierre, Monsignor N*** a la bonté de lui expliquer le cérémonial; durant la procession des cardinaux, Monsignor N*** est à ses côtés pour lui montrer le sens mystique de certains détails; et pendant la troisième adoration, c'est encore Monsignor N*** qui lui fait l'histoire de Pie VIII.

On est charmé, alors qu'on attendait un historien, de trouver un homme, et qui se révèle avec un naturel parfait et un égotisme ingénu. C'est une âme sensible: il a pitié du pauvre mourant abandonné de tous; s'il montait jamais sur le trône de Saint-Pierre, il voudrait avant tout être aimé; les plaisanteries méchantes et profondes des ouvriers lui font mal; et pour éviter les crimes qui accompagnent les révolutions, il voudrait un pape libéral, ce qui ne l'empêche point de parler avec un noble mépris de la "canaille romaine." C'est un esprit impertinent: il trouve bien longues ces pieuses cérémonies, et s'il ne tenait qu'à lui, il n'attendrait la fin du conclave; il déclare tout net que le discours latin de Monsignor Majo n'est qu'un centon de Cicéron; pendant le prêche de Monsignor Testa, il ne peut s'empêcher de dire que "ma foi, c'est trop d'ennui et de fausseté"; quant au discours de M. de Chateaubriand, "il y a un peu trop de *je* et de *moi*, à cela près il est charmant." Ce n'est point non plus un pur esprit, et il ne s'en cache pas: il nous confie qu'il est revenu de Saint-Pierre bien fatigué et mourant de faim, qu'il est allé dîner pendant que les cardinaux s'installaient au conclave, et que le jour de l'élection il a été

mouillé comme si on l'avait jeté au Tibre, mais qu'il est bien vite rentré se chauffer.

Un homme, que dis-je, un idéologue curieux avant tout de pénétrer l'âme des acteurs du drame. Du souverain pontife, il nous fait sentir les misères humaines: "un pauvre vieillard seul, sans famille, abandonné dans son lit aux soins de personnes qui hier le flattaient bassement et qui aujourd'hui désirent ouvertement sa mort"; une dépouille pompeusement parée que des panégyriques hypocrites accompagnent jusqu'à une tombe où, les obsèques finies, elle gît oubliée. Des cardinaux, hier humbles flatteurs, demain successeurs pressés qui pourraient bien enterrer trop tôt le moribond, il nous laisse entrevoir la dissimulation profonde et l'âpre ambition; il étudie leur physionomie pendant la grand'messe de Saint-Pierre, il nous les montre courant faire leurs dévotions avant d'entrer au conclave et tout occupés d'autre chose, il nous initie aux intrigues secrètes des scrutins, il nous révèle les ruses employées pour communiquer avec l'extérieur. Mais la Ville l'intéresse plus encore que la Cour. Tandis que la plupart des étrangers s'attachent au cérémonial, il s'inquiète, lui, des sentiments des Romains. Il remarque avec quelle joie mal déguisée on accueille dans la société la nouvelle que Léon XII est mourant, avec quelle âpreté on discute les symptômes de son mal, et comment ses médecins deviennent du jour au lendemain les personnages les plus recherchés de Rome. Il note l'intérêt passionné que l'on porte au choix du nouveau pontife: chacun se demande anxieusement qui sera pape, et dès que la mort est considérée comme certaine, l'animation morale est à son comble, les physionomies mêmes sont changées. Il observe que l'échec du cardinal de Gregorio plonge tout le monde dans le désespoir: "un pape dure en général huit ans," lui disent ses amis, "la nomination que nous venons de manquer assurait notre tranquillité pour plusieurs années." Le jour de l'élection, un homme fort bien mis lui explique que le choix du conclave est cent fois plus important que la loterie, et "influe directement sur la fortune et les projets de tout ce qui à Rome porte un habit de drap fin." Après la proclamation, il trouve la société taciturne: chacun est occupé de calculer sa position à l'égard du nouveau pape et des amis du nouveau pape.

Il n'est pas moins curieux des sentiments du peuple même, pour qui la mort du pontife et la nomination de son successeur sont toujours

un jeu, "c'est à dire ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant au monde," et qui cette fois se réjouit en outre de la disparition d'un maître détesté; mais Léon XII eût-il été un Sixte-Quint, songe-t-il, il en serait de même. Il remarque à chaque pas que "ces Italiens qui se traînent si lentement dans les rues, aujourd'hui marchent presque aussi vite qu'à Paris"; il surprend à Saint-Pierre les "plaisanteries à la Machiavel" des ouvriers; il voit l'ironie avec laquelle on accueille chaque matin la *fumata*, il entend les murmures grandir à mesure que le conclave se prolonge: on craint qu'il n'y ait pas de Semaine-Sainte, et la Semaine-Sainte est une affaire fructueuse. Le jour de l'élection, il observe la mobilité d'impressions de la foule: on commence par huer le cardinal Albani, on parle de démolir le conclave et d'aller chercher le pape, puis on applaudit, et après la proclamation des larmes paraissent dans les yeux; simple émotion pour un événement si attendu, se demande-t-il, ou bonheur d'avoir obtenu un souverain aussi bon après une si longue crainte? L'animation dure encore quelques jours, il s'agit de savoir qui sera secrétaire d'état, et si Pie VIII sera Autrichien ou Français. Puis tout s'apaise, la vieille indolence romaine reparait: pendant la Semaine-Sainte il n'y a plus moyen de se faire servir dans les *osterie*, et un marmiton refuse cinq francs pour faire cuire une côtelette. Mais les derniers mots des *Promenades* ne nous laissent pas moins entendre que dans ce peuple avili, rendu souverainement prudent par des siècles d'oppression, il reste encore des âmes énergiques, qui pourraient bien un jour secouer leur servitude.

C'est ainsi qu'à l'aide de quelques documents, de beaucoup d'expérience et d'un peu d'intuition, M. de Stendhal combine à l'exactitude matérielle la vraisemblance psychologique, et construit de toutes pièces ce curieux récit des *Promenades*, si désinvolte, mais si vivant, où les sentiments d'un peuple envers ses maîtres sont peints en touches si mordantes, et dont les *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* et l'*Histoire diplomatique des conclaves* devaient confirmer si singulièrement la pénétration.

Fort bien, dira-t-on, mais le *Diario di Roma*, mais la *Revue de Paris*? Sans doute il les pilla, mais il eut du moins la bonne grâce d'en dire un mot aimable; et puis ne leur fit-il point, en les pillant, beaucoup d'honneur?

ROBERT VIGNERON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE GIANT CORSOLT

The chief incident in the epic poem *Le Couronnement de Louis* is a duel between Guillaume Fierebrace, who acts as champion for the Christians beleaguered in Rome, and the Saracen giant, Corsolt. Guillaume wins, but with the loss of the tip of his nose: from that loss he is known afterward as Guillaume *au court nez* (ed. Langlois, vss. 1036-42). Earlier legend, however, had called Guillaume, Guillaume *au courb nez*. He had gained that title, according to the *Chanson de Guillaume*, in a fight under the walls of Orange, through a blow on the nose from the sword of Tibaut, which had raised a lump (ed. Tyler, vss. 2312-14). The question then comes whether the author of *Le Couronnement de Louis* had invented another disfigurement for Guillaume, or whether he had heard *court nez* instead of *courb nez* and invented a new explanation for it. In either case his explanation greatly enlarged the field of Guillaume's exploits by substituting Rome for Orange, and by making the duel one fought in defense of the Pope, instead of one which merely added to his own prowess. In keeping with this larger plan, the number of Guillaume's enemies had been increased: no fewer than four Saracen rulers were seen advancing on the capital of Christendom. They were

Li reis Galafres et li reis Tenebrez,
Li reis Cremuz et Corsolt l'amirez [*Coronement Looïs*, vss. 301-2].

Of the four, Galafres had already appeared in epic story. He is the "amirau Galafres" of *Mainet* and of *Roland* (vs. 1503), retaining that title here, in lines 437, 472, and elsewhere. Cremuz and Tenebrez, figurative names, were probably coined for the occasion, though Tenebré may have been borrowed from earlier poems. For Corsolt such origins cannot be brought forward: he had not played a part in earlier epic, nor is his name a made-up one. It is a real name, and it had existed, in similar forms, for many centuries, though hardly in such a connection.

In the account of his Gallic War, Caesar mentions at times a people living in what is now a section of Brittany, whom he called Coriosolites. This people became Romanized, and has left traces of its former occupation in the shape of Roman ruins. These ruins are particularly noticeable in a commune of the present department of Côtes-du-Nord, a commune which has inherited the name of its ancient inhabitants, the commune of Corseul.¹ If noticeable today, they must have been much more so in the third decade of the twelfth century, when our poem was being written. But the language of this poem, according to its editor, Ernest Langlois, is the language of the territory which lies on the

¹ Longnon, *Les Noms de Lieu de la France*, §396, p. 101.

border of the Ile de France and Picardy, or quite to the east of Corseul. It hardly probable, however, that a native of that region had even heard of Corseul, a village of no importance in his day. To have given its name to a character of the prominence of the champion of the Saracens implies either that he must have been told of its ruins by someone who knew of them, or that he had himself visited Corseul and retained a strong impression of that visit. The latter conjecture seems the more probable one, for his poem contains many evidences of his fondness for travel. In it Guillaume undergoes adventures in numerous localities. After the victory over Corsolt, for instance, he passes several years in warring in various places in Southern and Western France. On his way north to the shrine of Mont Saint-Michel, he takes the opportunity of making a tour of all Brittany:

Tote Bretagne comence a costeier;
 Onc ne fina tresqu'al Mont Saint Michiel.
 Dous jorz sejourne, puis s'en parti al tierz,
 Par Costentin s'en prist a repairier [vss. 2049-52].

On this tour our poet had evidently preceded his hero; he had come to Corseul and its ancient ruins had stamped themselves on his mind. When, later on, he was looking for a pagan foe who could fairly cope with the mighty Guillaume, the memory of these ruins had come back to him with a peculiar significance, and he had named the pagan after them. Finally, while French authorities agree on *Corseul* as the present spelling of the place, Kiepert and other geographers prefer the older form, *Corseult*, or one but a step removed from the twelfth-century *Corsolt*.

F. M. WARREN

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

THOMSON AND LADY HERTFORD AGAIN

In a recent article on "Thomson and the Countess of Hertford,"¹ I presented evidence, gleaned from the Percy manuscripts at Alnwick Castle, which seemed to demonstrate the friendly intercourse with his patroness which the poet Thomson enjoyed for many years—despite Dr. Johnson's statement to the contrary. Further investigation has yielded additional items of similar interest.

In a letter to Lady Pomfret, dated "London Jan. 22, 1741 O.S.," Lady Hertford wrote:

I have only the Verses I transcrib'd for you of Lady Mary Wortleys besides what you have had the goodness to send me; her Hymn to the Moon reminds me of some verses written by Mr Thomson, occasion'd by his Walking in a Garden by the light of the same pale Deity

In vain the silver Moon to Lovers kind
 Sheds her soft influence on the tortur'd Mind!
 How like a plaintive Ghost, I walk below:
 To silence doom'd! neglected, restless Pale,
 Joyn'd to the Screech Owl's solitary Wail,

¹ *Mod. Phil.*, XXV (1928), 439-68.

Vain Thought! how lovely would the scene appear
Brighter than Day, were Seraphina here.¹

This passage occurs in a copy of the letter (in Lady Hertford's hand) in a manuscript volume in which she transcribed her letters to Lady Pomfret. In their published correspondence the letter is printed with this passage deleted.²

The same poem in a slightly different form—with one additional line (obviously lacking in the first version) and certain verbal changes—is found in another volume of the Alnwick manuscripts: a folio, labeled "Poems," in which manuscripts of various sizes have been inserted. Since this is the better version, it is possible that in her letter Lady Hertford was quoting from memory. This version reads:

In vain the Gentle Moon to Lovers kind
Sheds her soft Lustre on the tortur'd mind
From her fair orb while streams of Radiance flow
How like a plaintive Ghost I walk below!
To silence doom'd, avoided, restless, pale
Joyn'd to the screech-Owls solitary Wail
Vain thought! how lovely would the scene appear
Mild as these Beams, was Seraphina here.³

The last line recalls the poem "To Seraphina," included among Thomson's published poems, with its second stanza reading:

But that sweet ray your beauties dart,
Which clears the mind and cleans the heart,
Is like the sacred queen of night
Who pours a lovely gentle light
Wide o'er the dark—by wanderers blest,
Conducting them to peace and rest.⁴

The question might be very cautiously raised as to whether "Seraphina" was Lady Hertford in both instances. Such a suggestion would have seemed absurdly untenable, perhaps, but for the encouragement lent by a recent item in *Catalogue No. 517* of Messrs. Maggs Brothers of London. It lists an autograph copy of Thomson's song, "Hard Is the Fate of Him Who Loves," together with a note by Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, authenticating the poem and stating that it was addressed to Lady Hertford. The manuscript is described in the *Catalogue* as that of a poem of seven verses of four lines each, and the first two verses are quoted. The second of these does not appear in the published version of the poem,⁵ which contains six stanzas only. This additional stanza reads:

For Angels warble when she speaks:
And where her eyes, sweet-beaming, shine,
Heaven on the extatic Gazer breaks,
Inspiring something all-divine.

¹ Alnwick MS, No. 112, pp. 135-36.

² *Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hertford . . . and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret* (London, 1806), II, 195-97.

³ Alnwick MS, CXVIII, 11, probably in Lady Hertford's writing.

⁴ *Poetical Works*, ed. J. L. Robertson (Oxford University Press, 1908), p. 468.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

The stanza certainly echoes portions of the third and fourth stanzas of "To Seraphina":

But Seraphina's eyes dispense
A mild and gracious influence,
Such as in visions angels shed
Around the heaven-illumin'd head.

To love thee, Seraphina, sure
Is to be tender, happy, pure;

'Tis ecstasy with wisdom join'd,
And heaven infused into the mind.

The testimony of Thomas Percy in regard to the manuscript of the song carries weight, in particular, because he was for a time in the employ of the Duke of Northumberland, Lady Hertford's son-in-law, at Alnwick Castle.

Finally, in another manuscript volume of Lady Hertford's, her *Miscellany*, in which she transcribed compositions of her own and of poets of her acquaintance, the Countess has written a poem which I believe hers, entitled "Song." It begins:

Not this blooming April season
Can relieve my Aching heart
Spight of all the force of reason
Still I act a Frantick Part.

On the margin of the page is written in another hand:

In this soft song, to finish every Line,
The Loves, the Graces, and the Muses join.

Comparison of the writing of this marginal note with that of a letter from Thomson to Lady Hertford makes it seem probable that this compliment is by him.

Thomson's poetic tributes to Lady Hertford thus form a growing list, including the dedication of *Spring* (" . . . Blooming and benevolent like thee"); *Hymn on Solitude* ("The gentle-looking Hertford's Bloom"); *To Retirement, an Ode* ("And with the gentle Hartford talk");¹ "Hard Is the Fate of Him Who Loves"; and possibly the marginal note to her "Song" and the two "Seraphina" poems.

HELEN SARD HUGHES

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

COLERIDGE THE DRAGOON

In connection with an edition, now in progress, of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's unpublished correspondence,² a number of letters relative to his experiences in the dragoons have come to light, and inasmuch as they give considerable new information, they are worthy of separate notice in a special

¹ *Mod. Phil.*, XXV, 459.

² With the permission and co-operation of the Coleridge family I am preparing an edition of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's unpublished correspondence.

study. Coleridge's biographers have been at a loss to explain the reasons for his departure from Cambridge and for his enlistment in His Majesty's service; Gillman says Coleridge left Cambridge because of his debts;¹ Cottle attributes his hastiness to unrequited love for Mary Evans.² The facts, as far as they can be gathered from Coleridge's published and unpublished letters and other sources, are as follows.

Coleridge's bills, as Mr. Plampin, his college tutor, wrote to George Coleridge³ (Coleridge's older brother), amounted at Lady's Day, 1794, to £132/6/2½ (approximately \$661.54), a sum sufficient to frighten any undergraduate. His bills had been a constant worry to him since he had gone to Cambridge; in June, 1793, he wrote his brother of his attempts to avoid debt: "Such are my accounts. I have been lesson'd by the wholesome discipline of experience, that *Nemo felix qui debet* and I hope that I shall be the happier man for it."⁴

Money was, therefore, an important factor in Coleridge's exodus from Cambridge and in his enlistment in the dragoons. Concerning the influence of Mary Evans, information is still more scanty. A stray sentence in an unpublished letter from Tuckett to George Coleridge seems to suggest a mingled motive for his actions: "He [Coleridge] must I am conscious feel too much shame to entertain even a wish of having an interview with Mrs. Evans' family."⁵ But E. H. Coleridge tells us that "there were alleviations to the misery and discomfort of this direful experience," and includes Coleridge's mention of "the beautiful girl" at Henley-on-Thames as evidence of his contention.⁶ It seems, then, as if disappointed love could have been at best only a contributing cause.

The real reason for his departure seems to lie in a self-torturing conscience. Having incurred debts beyond his means, Coleridge sought alleviation in pleasure; and then his conscience turned viciously on him. The following extracts from a letter written after his return to Cambridge are self-explanatory:⁷

I laugh almost like an insane person when I cast my eye backward on the prospect of my past two years—What a gloomy *huddle* of eccentric actions, and dim-

¹ James Gillman, *The Life of S. T. Coleridge* (1838), p. 42.

² Joseph Cottle, *Reminiscences of S. T. Coleridge and R. Southey* (1847), p. 279.

³ From an account of Coleridge's debts sent to Rev. George Coleridge by Mr. Plampin, the college tutor.

⁴ Unpublished letter to George Coleridge, June, 1793. This extract and those that follow are taken from transcripts made by the late E. H. Coleridge. I hope to collate them with the originals for my edition of the unpublished correspondence.

⁵ From G. L. Tuckett to George Coleridge, undated.

⁶ *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. H. Coleridge (London, 1895), p. 58 n. There seems to be no basis for Cottle's report that love for Mary Evans was the cause for his enlistment.

⁷ It is perhaps of interest here to remark that Coleridge had only recently failed to win the Craven Fellowship. He writes to his brother in June, 1793: "Our fate is at last decided; and I, as I expected, in the number of the unsuccessful . . . I verily believe we circumnavigated the Encyclopaedia" (unpublished letter).

discovered motives! To real happiness I bade adieu from the moment, I received my first "Tutor's Bill," since that time, since that period my mind has been irradiated by bursts only of sunshine, at all other times gloomy with clouds, or turbulent with tempests—Instead of manfully disclosing the disease, I concealed it with a shameful cowardice of sensibility, till it cankered my very heart.

I became a proverb to the University for idleness—The time, which I should have bestowed on the academic studies, I employed in dreaming out wild schemes of impossible extrication. It had been better for me, if my imagination had been less vivid. I could not with such facility have shoved aside reflection! How many and how many hours have I stolen from the bitterness of truth in these soul-ennervating reveries—in building magnificent edifices of happiness on some fleeting shadow of reality! My affairs became more and more involved. I fled to debauchery; fled pure silent and solitary anguish to all the uproar of senseless mirth—Having, or imagining that I had, no *stock* of happiness to which I could look forward, I seized the empty gratifications of the moment, and snatched at the foam, as the wave passed by me. I feel a painful blush on my cheek, while I write it, but even for the Un. Scholarship, for which I affected to have read so severely, I did not read three days uninterruptedly—for the whole six weeks, that preceded the examination, I was almost constantly intoxicated! My Brother! you shudder as you read.

When the state of my affairs became known to you and by your exertions and my brothers' generous confidence a fair road seemed open to extrication, Almighty God! what a sequel! I loitered away more money on the road, and in town than it was possible for me to justify to my conscience; and when I returned to Cambridge a multitude of petty embarrassments buzzed round me, like a nest of hornets, embarrassments, which in my wild carelessness I had forgotten, and many of which I had contracted almost without knowing it. So small a sum remained, that I could not mock my tutor with it—My agitations were delirium—I formed a party, dashed to London at eleven o'clock at night, and for three days lived in all the tempest of pleasure—resolved on my return—but I will not shock your religious feelings—I again returned to Cambridge—staid a *week*—such a week! Where vice has not annihilated sensibility, there is little need of a Hell! On Sunday night I packed up a few things, went off in the mail, staid about a week in a strange way, still looking forward with a kind of recklessness to the *dernier* resort of misery. An accident of a very singular kind prevented me, and led me to adopt my present situation—where what I have suffered!—but enough, may he, who in mercy dispenseth anguish be gracious to me.¹

The reasons for Coleridge's enlistment in the dragoons are clearer than those for his departure from Cambridge. As the letter quoted above shows, having fled from college in anguish, Coleridge gave himself over to alcoholic excesses during a mad week in London. Returning to Cambridge, he had not the heart to face the issue, and poverty-stricken, with no prospects in view, he took what seemed to be the easiest course—self-effacement in the army, enlisting in the king's regiment of light dragoons on December 2, 1793.

Coleridge soon came to abominate army life; and the romantic stories which are often repeated are greatly exaggerated. At first he kept his action

¹ See *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, XII (1929; published 1930), 297-98.

concealed from his family, but through the good offices of his friend, G. L. Tuckett, they heard of the matter.¹ Every letter is full of regrets, not only for his actions preceding his flight from Cambridge, but for the actual enlistment itself. To George Cornish he writes:

I have been, deeply do I feel that I have been, the dupe of my Imagination, the slave of impulse, the child of Error and Imbecillity—yet when I look back on the numbers and characters of those, who have honoured me with their Regard. I am almost reconciled to myself, and half listen to the whispers of self-adulation.²

Coleridge had previously written in the same mood to his brother:

Your letter rekindled my hopes of myself. With every motive, that dear bought experience, that overwhelmed gratitude can suggest, I must indeed be a monster of imbecillity to relapse or be a stationary in the road of well-doing! Let me build confidence on humility.³

Coleridge's actual experiences as a dragoon are clearly portrayed in E. H. Coleridge's *Letters*,⁴ but certain parts are made more clear from his unpublished correspondence.

Coleridge assumed the name of Silas Tomkyn Comberbacke to keep his own initials. It is of interest to note that his middle name almost corresponds to that of his friend Tomkins⁵ whom he thought a fine poet.

Unfitted for his duties as a dragoon, Coleridge was almost immediately put on hospital duty and the major part of his time was spent in the Henley Workhouse, nursing a sick comrade. Here he won the confidence of the woman in charge, and enjoyed the best she could offer. That he deliberately avoided his friends a letter to Tuckett shows;⁶ but the following extract from a letter of George Cornish to his wife is perhaps a more impartial record.

March 11, 1794

. . . . At Reading it occurred to me that I might probably find out Sam Colridge [*sic*]—say not a word about it as the family may think me meddling but I felt a sort of attachment for him and therefore endeavoured to find him out—for which purpose I spoke to many of the dragoons who knew of no such name, at last a well-spoken man described to me Sam Colridge conceiving him to be the man I meant—but says he, sir, if I tell him there is a gentleman wants to see him he will not come. I will make some excuse to bring him this way in five minutes I saw the man with another coming towards me when to my infinite surprize I saw Sam Colridge full accoutred as a dragoon the moment he saw me he turned away, I called to him he then stopped we walked together along the street but it was some minutes before he spoke to me, he seemed much agitated after a little time he discovered I did not mean to insult his misfortunes but to alleviate them if I could he gave me a little detail of his sufferings but he says they are not half

¹ *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, p. 57 n.

² Unpublished letter to George Cornish, March 12, 1794.

³ Unpublished letter to George Coleridge, February 28, 1794.

⁴ *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, pp. 57–69.

⁵ As yet I have been unable to identify Tomkins, whom Coleridge mentions so enthusiastically in his early letters.

⁶ *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, pp. 58–59.

enough to expiate his follies—the soldier told me he received half a guinea a week and a newspaper daily but he told me had refused any assistance—whether his brothers mean to punish him or whether they have not sufficient interest to procure his discharge I know not but he is not discharged yet and goes through all the drudgery of a dragoon recruit. I need not say how I felt he has never been from my thoughts since. I offered him some money—which he refused but not in a way but what I saw it would be acceptable to him. I therefore gave him a guinea which was all I had except a few shillings and fortunately I had no more for as I then felt he would have had it all don't say a word about it.¹

Once they knew of his predicament, Coleridge's brothers soon procured his release, though not without difficulty and expense. I have before me a series of letters between George Coleridge and the military authorities (General Gwynne and Captain Hopkinson) showing that the latter insisted on their procuring a substitute recruit. On April 8, 1794, Captain Hopkinson notified George Coleridge of his brother's release.²

It was found less difficult to obtain Coleridge's readmission to Jesus College, Cambridge. By part payment of Coleridge's arrears, and by indicating a willingness to assume responsibility for the whole debt, George Coleridge was able to arrange the matter. The fact that the family were sufficiently hard pressed to ask for terms and yet were willing to help Coleridge with his debts shows that he still retained their confidence:

You will be so good as to send me the amounts of his Bills in their most contracted shape, I mean with every reduction that his allowance will admit. Will you allow me likewise to beg that the sum (if an immediate payment of it should distress us) may be paid by installments with a proper security. Such departures from common usage may be unusual for you to grant, as they are uncomfortable for me to request. I confess however, that the liberality of Jesus College towards my Brother has brought me to presume.³

For disciplinary purposes the college authorities imposed a light punishment.

My sentence is a reprimand (not a public one, but *implied* in the sentence), a month's confinement to the precincts of the College, and to translate the works of Demetrius Phalareus into English.⁴

Such was the youthful folly. Interest in it has grown beyond its importance; but the fact that Coleridge so carefully treasured his sword (it may now be seen in the Coleridge library) and suspected his son Hartley of a similar offense twenty-six years later make him at least partly responsible for the story.

"The dread," Coleridge wrote to his son Derwent, "that he [Hartley] is wandering on some wild scheme, in no dissimilar mood or chaos of feelings to

¹ Unpublished letter, March 11, 1794.

² Campbell says Coleridge was discharged April 10 (J. D. Campbell, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Narrative of the Events of His Life* [1894], p. 39). I find no justification for the romantic stories of Coleridge's Latin inscription and Captain Ogle, in either published or unpublished sources (cf. *ibid.*, p. 29).

³ Unpublished letter from George Coleridge to Mr. Plampin, February 14, 1794.

⁴ *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, pp. 70-71.

that which possessed his unhappy Father at an early age during the month that ended in the Army. . . ."¹ And to Mrs. Gillman he wrote characteristically of "the critical eruption of my six months Light Dragoonery."²

Whatever influence the dragoon episode had on Coleridge, it is at least significant to remember that never again did he plunge so hastily into an unreasonable adventure. A few months later he projected the impractical scheme of pantisocracy, but he and his friends did not carry out their plan.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

EARL LESLIE GRIGGS

ROMAIN ROLLAND AGAIN COMMENTS ON
JEAN-CHRISTOPHE

Readers of the article, "Some New Comments on *Jean-Christophe* by its Author," in the February, 1930, issue of *Modern Philology* will be interested in another communication from Romain Rolland, which contains new and valuable material on the same subject.

The occasion of this letter was an almost exact repetition of the circumstances which elicited the information contained in the earlier article. An edition of *Antoinette*, the sixth volume of *Jean-Christophe*, was in preparation, and the proofs of the Introduction and notes were submitted to M. Rolland. A copy of the *Modern Philology* article was inclosed. M. Rolland's gracious and painstaking reply not only deals with *Antoinette*, but discusses the article about his earlier comments, and then adds much interesting information about himself and *Jean-Christophe*. Again he reveals facts which his biographers do not seem to have known, and at times takes direct issue with them.

The letter, part of which has been included in the edition of *Antoinette*,³ is here reproduced in full. To understand the first part of it, it is necessary only to know that the Introduction, as submitted to M. Rolland, called attention to the fact that Jean Bonnerot⁴ sees in *Antoinette* the image of M. Rolland's older sister, while Stefan Zweig⁵ in his chapter on "The Key to the Characters of *Jean-Christophe*" identifies *Antoinette* as Henriette Renan. The letter follows:

VILLENEUVE (VAUD) VILLA OLGA
20 avril 1930

CHER MONSIEUR:

Je vous remercie de votre aimable envoi. J'ai peu de chose à modifier à vos excellentes notes pour *Antoinette*.

¹ MS letter to Derwent Coleridge, July 4, 1820.

² Undated letter to Mrs. Gillman.

³ Romain Rolland, *Jean-Christophe (Antoinette)*, ed. Henry Ward Church (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930).

⁴ *Romain Rolland, son Oeuvre* (Paris, 1921), p. 9.

⁵ *Romain Rolland, the Man and His Work*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, 1921), p. 175.

... Ma sœur Madeleine n'a pas servi de modèle. D'abord, elle est ma cadette, de beaucoup; (Bonnerot se trompe). Les rapports n'ont donc pu être les mêmes entre nous qu'entre le petit Olivier et sa sœur aînée. Il n'y a de semblable, dans les deux cas, que la grande et constante intimité. Ma sœur m'a été une fidèle compagne d'idées, de combats et de dangers—(car elle a eu sa part de ces derniers)—pendant la guerre. Elle était à Paris une des très rares femmes françaises faisant partie de la "Ligue internationale des femmes pour la paix et la liberté," dont la présidente internationale était mon amie Mrs. [sic] Jane Addams. Depuis la fin de la guerre, elle m'a infatigablement aidé dans mes travaux sur l'Inde: agrégée d'anglais, traductrice et amie de Thomas Hardy et de Rabindranath Tagore, elle lit le bengali. C'est une femme d'un esprit supérieur et d'une absolue indépendance, qui se serait fait un nom, sans son désintéret du succès. Je lui ai rendu hommage à la première page de mon Gandhi et de mon Ramakrishna.—Mais elle n'a rien de commun avec Antoinette.

Henriette Renan, pas davantage. A peine un souvenir, peut-être, de son émigration forcée loin du jeune frère, a-t-il pu servir pour le voyage d'institutrice d'Antoinette en Allemagne. Mais ni la figure d'Antoinette, ni son histoire n'ont été inspirés par elle. Encore moins le suicide du père Jeannin ne doit-il quoi que ce soit à l'histoire de la famille Renan.—Hélas! ces tragiques histoires ne sont que trop fréquentes dans la bourgeoisie française de province; et je n'en ai que trop entendu parler dans mon enfance! Ce n'est pas dans les livres que j'ai connus ces ruines de familles, ces suicides, et ce haro jeté par les amis d'hier sur les vaincus de la vie!

L'erreur ordinaire de la critique est de croire que nous allons chercher nos thèmes dans l'histoire ou dans des livres. Le Livre de Vie est plus riche que Balzac et Tolstoy. Je l'ai beaucoup feuilleté. C'est là—et dans nul autre—que j'ai connu des Antoinettes,—de courageuses filles mourant à la peine—, et telle, dont le destin s'achevait plus douloureusement encore; car le frère, à qui elle s'était sacrifiée, devenait un vaurien.

Mais qu'il est difficile de dire souvent d'où a jailli l'idée d'un artiste?—Tout l'épisode de Sabine dans *Jean-Christophe (L'Adolescent)* est sorti de cette humble première cellule:—un soir d'été, dans une petite ville de province française où je passais seulement une nuit, de ma fenêtre, j'ai vu dans la rue à demi-éclairée, un jeune homme et une jeune femme, assis l'un près de l'autre, à la porte d'une maison, et causant sans bruit. Ce n'était rien. Et ce fut tout; pour moi, à cette minute précise, ce fut le choc initial qui déclancha tout le travail de l'esprit.

De même pour *Antoinette*: le choc initial m'est venu, plusieurs années avant l'œuvre, de la vue de ce beau groupe gréco-romain, qui est, je crois, au musée de Naples, et représente le petit Oreste levant les yeux, tendant les mains vers sa grande sœur Électre. L'émotion a couvé longtemps, avant de se traduire en œuvre.—Mais naturellement, elle n'eût pas couvé, si le milieu d'âme ne s'y fût prêté.

Je porte bien d'autres "chocs initiaux" en moi,—des semences d'êtres, dont la plupart resteront inexplicables. Ce sont des nappes d'eau—d'âme—profonde qui assurent la fécondité du sol. Sans elles, il serait desséché.

Permettez-moi de revenir un peu en arrière sur un point que nous avons amicalement discuté:

Non, Parsifal n'est pour rien dans *Jean-Christophe*. Je puis vous l'assurer. Ce n'est pas lui qui m'a suggéré l'idée du "reine Thor." Si j'avais eu besoin de le

chercher au dehors, je l'eusse trouvé, beaucoup plus près de moi, dans Beethoven qui m'est et m'a toujours été infiniment plus apparenté que Wagner. L'exemple vivant que fut Beethoven de pureté morale, d'indépendance indomptable, et de candeur farouche, est bien autrement vrai, véhément et efficace que cette ombre de Parsifal, d'un pur dessein, mais sans aucune individualité.—Mais je n'ai pas eu besoin de Beethoven,—sinon comme d'un robuste frère aîné, qui, dans les troubles de ma jeunesse, me soutenait dans ma propre voie. Je portais en moi *mon* Jean-Christophe. Et plus d'un porte aussi *le sien*. En exprimant le "reine Thor," le révolté, qui était en moi, l'homme assoiffé de vérité et de liberté, j'ai exprimé celui des autres. Il ne passe guère de mois, depuis vingt ans, où je ne reçoive, des pays les plus différents, des lettres d'hommes inconnus qui me disent:—"Je suis Jean-Christophe."

Quant au conflit au sujet de mes idées et de mon style, oserais-je prier mes lecteurs, tant d'Amérique que d'Europe, de juger des unes et de l'autre par eux-mêmes, sans interroger anxieusement les jugements de la critique française? Avec toute la réserve à laquelle je suis tenu, j'ai le droit de dire que de ces jugements—éloges ou blâmes—il est bien peu qui ne soient dégagés de considérations étrangères à l'art. Personne ne doit oublier que, depuis trente ans, je suis en lutte, *délibérément*, avec les milieux littéraires et politiques de France. C'est une des raisons d'être de *Jean-Christophe* et de presque toute mon œuvre, par la suite. J'ai déchaîné, par *la Foire sur la Place*, et par mes livres de guerre (*Clérambault*, non moins que *Au-dessus de la Mêlée* et que *les Précurseurs*), des passions dont la violence ne s'éteindra pas avant longtemps. Je ne puis m'attendre, de mon vivant, à trouver des juges impartiaux. Il faut remettre le verdict à plus tard. Vingt ou trente ans après ma mort, quand les générations que j'ai combattues auront disparu, avec moi, de la scène, que soient mes juges les nouveaux venus! Je m'en remets à l'avenir.

Veillez croire, cher Monsieur, à mon cordial dévouement.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

Most of this letter requires no comment. In fact, any attempt to enlarge upon the points raised by it would only tend to lessen its effectiveness. It is an intensely human document, particularly the last part of it, and one which will be of great importance whenever the time comes for a full and impartial appraisal of Romain Rolland. One cannot but admire his attitude, and we must respect his desire to keep intimate things to himself, although it is to be hoped, for the sake both of his present admirers and of future scholars, that he will not carry too many of the important *chocs initiaux* to the grave with him.

One point, however, in this letter seems to call for some discussion, namely, M. Rolland's repudiation of Zweig's identification of Antoinette with Henriette Renan. There can be no question, after M. Rolland's letter, that he is right and the biographer wrong. And yet what a mass of circumstantial evidence can be advanced in support of this identification! Leaving entirely aside the question of literary influence, the stories of Henriette Renan and Antoinette Jeannin form a most interesting parallel. Both came from com-

fortably wealthy bourgeois families; both had fathers who inherited a prosperous business but were temperamentally unfit to carry it on successfully. The resulting financial collapse caused the suicide of M. Jeannin and the death of M. Renan under circumstances which pointed strongly to self-destruction. On the death of the father both girls became the responsible heads of their families, the main life-interest of each centering on the care and education of a younger brother. From him both sacrificed health and personal ambitions, including marriage. Finally, both were forced by financial distress into exile in a foreign land, where they had secured employment as teachers in private families.

Even the main points of difference between the two stories seem to follow a definite program. In the Renan family there was an elder brother, and the mother did not die but actually outlived the daughter. The creditors were kind and lenient, allowing Mme Renan to retain the family home until it could finally be cleared of debt. Most important of all, Henriette lived to reap the reward of her years of unselfish devotion, whereas Antoinette makes the supreme sacrifice before her brother has even completed his education.

Does it not seem, on the basis of all this, that M. Rolland created Antoinette in the image of Henriette Renan, changing the main outlines of the story only when necessary to make the life, environment, and death of Antoinette more pitilessly cruel? Certainly, this identification is based on stronger reasons than many another in the field of literary history which has passed unchallenged. M. Rolland's paragraph on "l'erreur ordinaire de la critique" might make profitable reading for many critics and biographers.

Zweig's "Key to the Characters of *Jean-Christophe*" is obviously in need of drastic revision. M. Rolland's communications to the writer of the present article have already revealed that Jean-Christophe himself bears no relation to Parsifal and very little to Hugo Wolf, that Hassler is not Wagner, that Professor Schultz is not Emil Kaufmann (at least exclusively), and finally that Antoinette is not Henriette Renan. It would be interesting to have M. Rolland's comments on the other identifications in this chapter.

HENRY WARD CHURCH

ALLEGHENY COLLEGE

REVIEWS

La Vie de Saint Thibaut: An Old French Poem of the Thirteenth Century. Edited by HELEN EASTMAN MANNING. "Publications of the Institute of French Studies." New York, 1929. Pp. ix+134.

Of the numerous lives of the saints preserved in Old French, those which deal with medieval France make a particular appeal to students of the Middle Ages. *La Vie de Saint Thibaut* is an excellent example of this type.

In Old French two poems on the life of Saint Thibaut have been preserved, both of them in the same manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr. 24870. It is the longer of these two poems that Miss Manning has edited for her thesis.

The Introduction contains a description of the manuscript, a study of the authorship and the source of the longer poem, a list of other versions, Latin, French, Italian, and German, of the life of Saint Thibaut, and chapters on the language of the author, the language of the copyist, and the versification. This Introduction of forty-six pages is followed by the text, a fairly complete Glossary, and a short Bibliography of works used by the editor. The text of the shorter poem is added in an Appendix.

The name of the author, Guillelmus de Oye, is contained in a short Latin passage which directly follows the poem in the manuscript, where it is stated that he is *vicarius ecclesie beate Marie de Tremblins* and that he translated his work *de latino in romanum* in July, 1267. If this note is genuine, as we have no reason to doubt, we have certain data which are worth investigating. Miss Manning has attempted to do this by writing to certain *archivistes*, from whose replies she includes excerpts, but her results, as she admits, are unsatisfactory. She seems to conclude that the author may have come from the region west of Mâcon, not far from Semur, where she finds a village of Oyé. It seems to me, however, that *Oye* (Lat. *Augia*) should not be written *Oyé*. Several place-names, *Oyes*, *Oie*, *Oye*, are found in France, particularly in Champagne (cf. Longnon, *Dictionnaire topographique de la Marne*, IX, 208). The identification of the particular village and the church of which the author was vicar is a problem which demands more investigation.

The editor has shown that the *Vita* used by the author is the one printed by Surius and also found in the *Acta sanctorum*. The latter part of the poem which deals with the *Translatio* (vs. 635 to the end) corresponds to the Latin account published by Mabillon, which is based on two manuscripts. From the variants given by Mabillon, the editor wisely concludes that one of these manuscripts (Codex Uticensis) is the probable source of most of the poem. After mentioning the importance of the Codex Uticensis, Miss Manning states

that this manuscript has been lost. The reviewer has, however, found the manuscript in the library at Alençon and intends to print it in a forthcoming edition of the poems.

In the chapter devoted to the language of the author no real proof is presented for *e* (Lat. *ĕ*) in rhyme with *e* (Lat. *a*), for the only example mentioned is *nez* 531, which is not from *nitidus*, as the editor supposes, but from *natus*, as the Latin version shows. The verse is wrongly interpreted; cf. my note to verse 531. There are three examples of preterit I, 3 in *-it*, one case in *-a*, and several of *-et* (the usual form of the manuscript); the preterit II, III, 3 does not rhyme with preterit I, 3 except in the case of *-dedi* verbs. Although there are two examples of the imperfect subjunctive 3 in *-asse*, it should have been noted that in verse 545 the form *pensast*, not *pensasse*, is proved by the versification. These facts are worth citing, since they show that the language of the poet is not always fixed.

The editor has not clearly distinguished between the language of the author and that of the copyist, as, for example, *on > un*, which is purely orthographic, since the only examples are in verses 71, 72, where *un* (*homo*) rhymes with *parlon* and *non*; likewise *-ui* for *-u* in *venuis*: *vestus*, *irascus*; *apelezt* 213, preterit 3, is due to the copyist and so it is not a case of *st:l*. The imperfect subjunctive 1 in *-isse* and the future 1, 2, 6 are not proved for the author despite the statement on pages 26 ff. The rhymes which prove *-ie* for *pal. + -atum* are given on page 31 in the study of the language of the copyist, whereas they belong on page 21 under the language of the author, where the cases of the retention and the suppression of the hiatus vowel belong. The same is true of several of the examples of the nominative singular feminine of nouns (p. 39), whereas some of the examples of the feminine of adjectives cited on page 25 prove nothing for the author, but are worth noting for the scribe.

In the language of the copyist the editor suggests that in several instances *ie* might be read as *ie*, but she has not noticed apparently that in some of her examples, as *pechies* 321 and *congie* 931, a difficulty would then arise in the versification. *Nigun* 843 is not a case of accusative singular for nominative singular, for it is the object of the verb.

In the treatment of the versification the cases of enjambment are far more numerous than the citations would indicate. Several examples, such as 60, 72, 124, 360 from the first part of the poem, should have been included. As for the division into strophes, the editor followed the paragraph marks inserted by a copyist in the margin of the manuscript. The poet wrote nearly all the introduction to his work in strophes of four verses each. When he took up the narrative part, he followed less carefully this arrangement, giving to five, six, seven, or more verses the same rhyme. In the margin of the manuscript the *laissez* or strophes of eight or more verses are provided with a mark before the fifth, ninth, etc. The editor has divided the text accordingly, even going so far in 780-87 and 788-95 as to make two *laissez* of eight verses each, since the manuscript shows no mark before the fifth verse, whereas other

groups of eight verses (98-105, 118-25, 235-42, 402-9, etc.) are divided into two strophes because they have been marked by a scribe. A more consistent division would be to group together the verses which have the same rhyme, arranging them in *laisses* of varying length, as in the *chansons de geste*.

A clear, succinct summary of the dialectical traits follows the chapter on the language of the author. As Miss Manning admits, the number of examples is insufficient to permit the definite localization of the poem. Certain characteristics, such as $a > e$, not *ei*, pal. + $a > e$, preterit of first conjugation in *-it*, or *-et* and the accented ending of the imperfect subjunctive 6 might indicate a Burgundian origin. The editor concludes that the language points to the southern part of Saône-et-Loire. It seems to the reviewer that it might better be placed somewhat farther north, not far from the confines of Champagne.

Although in printing the text Miss Manning has shown much care and thought, certain corrections should be pointed out. References will be made to the lines.

33: *De ce, dist sainte iglise*, not "*Dé*" *ce*; cf. *Vita, unde ipsa Ecclesia*.—178: *civeres* is not from [*capra*], but is derived from [*cibariu*] mod. *civière*.—213: *vesinelés* means 'antiquity,' as in 475, cf. *Vita, vestustas*.—376: *paie*, not *païé*. For other cases of *-iata > ie*, cf. *laisste* 149 and *fichte* 425.—425: *au costé*, not *au coste*.—438: The editor states that the verse lacks one syllable, but if she had read *bloissoit* (*bloïr*), not *bloissoit* (*blecier*), the verse would not have been defective. Besides *bloïr*, 'darken,' 'blacken,' correctly translates the *furcasset* of the *Vita*.—469: *Leunciu*, not *Leuntin*, cf. Mabillon.—519: *uilave*, not *uitane*, cf. *Vita, octava paschae die; uilave* may be used for both masc. and fem., whereas the usual masc. form of *uitane* is *uitain*.—531: The latter half of this verse has been misinterpreted, since the editor read *cors* for *tors* and then explained *nez* as derived from *nitidus*, not from *natus*. The verse should be as follows: *I. qui ot non Martins et qui fu de Tors nez*. Cf. *Vita, Alter Turonensis, nomine Martinus*. For the same construction cf. vs. 584 of this poem and *La Vie de S. Martin*, vs. 6435, where the identical expression occurs.—591: It is not necessary to omit *seinz* in order to make the verse intelligible. In the phrase *do seint cors seinz*, 'the saint's holy body,' *seint* is used as a dative of possession, cf. vs. 832, *do cors seinz sein Tibaut*. The expression *cors seinz* is frequently found in this poem, cf. vss. 580, 604, 609.—593: The text has been properly corrected, but the MS reading *li rauriains* is not given.—608: *botanflez* rather than *boranflez*. Cf. *Yvain*, 4103 n.—651: *ansi come*, not *ausi come*, cf. 638, 662.—669: *vos*, not *nos*.—706: It would be better to change *ia ivre* to *injure*. Cf. Mabillon, *laesi tanta injuria*.—707: The correct number of syllables may be obtained by adding *de* before *Dé*, cf. vs. 715, *la puissance de Dé*.—715: *regraterent*, not *regracerent*, cf. vs. 998.—819: Correct *ran i* to *ia n'i*.—891: Read *si co[m] comandé m'as, je ne me fie mie*. The MS has *fic mie*. Cf. Mabillon, *sicut tu jussisti, nihil nostris viribus praesumens*.—895: *araget* should not be changed to *aranget*. It is from *aragier* (*arrachier*) and translates the *evulsit* of the Latin version.—1030: *atriblez*, not *acriblez*, cf. Mabillon, *manu et brachio contractus*.—1049: MS, *regratet*, not *regracet*, cf. vs. 715.

RAYMOND THOMPSON HILL

YALE UNIVERSITY

Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz, poeta castellano del siglo XIV. By JOSÉ MARÍA AGUADO. Madrid, 1929. Pp. 637.

An Etymological Vocabulary to the "Libro de buen amor" of Juan Ruiz, Archipreste de Hita. By HENRY B. RICHARDSON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. ix+251.

For many years past the sentiment has been current among scholars, especially those interested in Old Spanish, that the compilation of a glossary to the masterpiece of the most brilliant representative of realism among medieval Spanish poets would be an extremely useful piece of scholarly work. This collective wish has found unexpected realization in the two books cited above. Far from representing a repetition or *double emploi* they prove the truth of the adage, *Si duo faciunt idem non est idem*; as a matter of fact, they complement each other and consequently both are indispensable tools on the desk of every medievalist whose interests bring him into touch with Spain.

Aguado's work is the more comprehensive. It consists of three parts. The first part contains five chapters, or *tratados*, on the "Lenguaje, estilo y métrica de Juan Ruiz," as follows: (i) "Fonética y graffa"; (ii) "Morfología"; (iii) "Sintaxis"; (iv) "Métrica"; (v) "Discurso sobre Juan Ruiz, su obra e influencia de la misma." This minute and painstaking analysis is a truly remarkable product of modern Spanish scholarship of the Menéndez Pidal school. In discussing the metrical combinations, Aguado is merely objective and does not touch upon the subject of influences dealt with by Ribera in *La música de las cantigas*, pages 80 ff., and by Menéndez Pidal in the *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, pages 73, 274. In chapter v certain misapprehensions concerning the Arcipreste's lack of learning have already been corrected in the review by F. Castro Guisasola in *RFE* (1929), pages 68-74. Juan Ruiz was not extremely learned, but he knew more than some of his critics are willing to give him credit for.

The second part, "Texto crítico," is limited in this volume to one page containing the "Índice de la segunda parte," which we infer will follow later in a separate volume. The third part, "Vocabulario," is introduced by the statement that it is "las primicias de un trabajo mayor, que desde hace tiempo acaricio, conviene saber: un diccionario etimológico e histórico de todos los vocablos empleados hasta últimos del siglo XV, época de la completa formación del lenguaje." Words are grouped "por familias, bien que anotadas en orden alfabético las derivadas por prefijación." Aguado reserves additional material "para el trabajo total."

Following this principle, the Glossary quotes cases where a word occurs in other medieval Spanish texts, which is a most welcome feature. In etymologies Aguado limits himself to Sánchez, to the *Diccionario de la Real Academia*, to Menéndez Pidal, and to Raimundo Miguel.

This, the weakest part of his book, is admirably rectified by Professor Richardson's book, dedicated to the *benemeritus* of Romance philology in

America, Professor H. R. Lang, under whose direction it was begun. The Bibliography (pp. 246-51) shows that no really important source has been omitted. For Arabic etymologies P. Henri Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe* (Beyrouth, 1890), might have been added. As to the author's method we read in the Preface: "The vocabulary is based upon MS S (Salamanca) as reproduced in the edition of Ducamin, Toulouse, 1901. While this MS offers a very satisfactory text, there have been added words from the variants of MSS G (Gayoso), and T (Toledo), also printed by Ducamin, which do not appear in it." Seminars in Juan Ruiz will now be able to make comparisons and fill eventual lacunae. For example, Richardson does not list *baladí*, which is found in Aguado but without any etymology (< Arab. *baladī*, rather than *bāḏīl*). The following cursory observations may be of interest:

acotar: correct etym.; none in Aguado.—*alhaonar*: the suggested *hāna* is possible; if the meaning = *traicionar*, then *khāna* might be suggested. *amasar*: possibly < Arab. *masaḥa*; the *aljamiados* use frequently *maḥar*; in the same way as *amatar* < *māta*.—*arauigo*: < Arab. — *arreatado*, etc.: < *ribāḥ*, cf. J. O. Asín, *Origen árabe de rebato, arrobada y sus homónimos* (Madrid, 1928).—*axuar*: < *aš-šuwār*, correct. Aguado's suggested *uxuarium* is impossible.—*azar* < *az-zār* (?) cf. Lammens, p. 133.—*amxy*: < Vulg. Arab. *āmṣī* (both m. and f.), French spelling "emchi."—*askut*: < Vulg. Arab. *āskut*. *caçurro*: cf. Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 297.—*Calatrava*: < *kal'at ribāḥ*.—*çapato*: < *sabbāḥ*.—*coffya*: cf. *coiffe* in Lammens, p. 89.—*enbaçarse*: PHisp gives the correct equivalent.—*enganar*: My etym. would be *ingeniare* in view of the Provençal texts (Raynouard, II, 42 ff.: *engeniara*, *engenera*, *ingeniatum*) and *Disc. cleric.* (Paris, 1824), *passim*. But a contamination with *canna* (proposed by Jenkins, *Language*, IV, 232) is possible.—*galipe*: might have some remote connection with *qāleb* (cf. Lammens, pp. 70-71).—*Guadalajara*: < *wād-al-ḥijāra*, stony river.—*halla*: < *ḥalyun*, but Aguado's suggestion *sin falta* is possible.—*yznedri*: < *les nedri*, cf. Ribera, *op. cit.*, p. 80.—*maguer* < *Μαγαριε* as in Aguado.—*marfil*: < *ʿaḏm-al-ṣil*, bone of elephant, as in *Dicc. Avad.*—*marroquía*: < *marrākesḥī*.—*mesquino*: < *miskīn* (*meskīn*), cf. Lammens, p. 164.—*crabyn*: cf. also Ribera, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 85.—*le ala*: < Vulg. Arab. *lā walla*.

A. R. NYKL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: The Dialectal and Metrical Survey. By J. P. OAKDEN. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1930. Pp. xii+273.

It is a curious fact that when, more than sixty years ago, Richard Morris asserted a West Midland (suggesting more specifically a Lancashire) origin for the alliterative poems in MS Nero A x, he gave erroneous reasons but apparently reached a correct conclusion. Into his judgment probably entered facts of which he was unconscious—in particular associations between the grammar and vocabulary of the poems and similar features of modern Lancashire speech. In the nineteenth volume of this journal appeared an article which

showed that Morris' evidences were not valid and suggested that with the knowledge which we then had we had a right only to label these poems and their associates North Midland. To this article Professor Menner wrote a rather indignant rejoinder, in which after a detailed study of the facts then available he asserted a Northwest Midland provenience for the poems on the basis of but four linguistic details.¹

In the eight years which have intervened since the publication of Professor Menner's article, publication of studies on place-names has added considerably to our knowledge of Middle English dialects. Dr. Oakden has used Professor Menner's methods and the results gained in these years by the study of place-names, and as a consequence is able to make a synthesis which marks a great advance in our knowledge not only of the alliterative poems but of Middle English in general. He starts with forty-five peculiarities which may have dialectal significance. Bringing into play all knowledge derived from texts and place-names (the latter used more critically than in the early studies), he establishes as nearly as possible the boundaries of each. For twelve of them he shows the boundary lines on a map; then he takes up each alliterative poem and locates it according to its use of the peculiarities whose boundaries he has established. His study of the location of *Sir Gawain, Pearl, Cleanness*, and *Patience* will perhaps afford the most interesting example of his methods and results. First he analyzes the poems as to the forty-five points, giving statistics for each point as it occurs in the several texts. Then with the boundaries in mind, he shows in detail what the evidence establishes. Since the poems offer fairly distinctive peculiarities on about thirty points, the evidence is definite, and since he is able to show that all details agree with a location in South Lancashire or Northwest Derby, one must regard his conclusion (even if one allows liberally for possible error in charting the boundaries) as convincing. Finally, he considers the bearing of vocabulary on the dialect location. The high percentage of Norse words and the presence of twenty-nine words (not listed) found in modern dialect only in South Lancashire, Southwest Yorkshire, Northwest Derby, and Cheshire confirm the conclusion that the manuscript containing these poems was written in South Lancashire.

Whether the poems were written there, also, is more uncertain. Dr. Oakden throughout his study has paid particular attention to the evidence afforded by rhyme and alliteration as to the author's dialect as contrasted with the scribe's. He appears to have no idea that scribes ever changed rhymes: "With the following exceptions all the dialectal points have been proved original by the study of rhyme and alliteration" (p. 83). Had he paid more attention to texts that are extant in several copies, he would have had less confidence in the stability of rhymes and alliteration. The tremendous labor involved in his study made it impossible for him to examine in detail such texts as *Cursor Mundi* and the *Avntys of Arthure*. It is curious that when he wrote

¹ *PMLA*, XXXVII (1922), 503-26.

the following comment he had no qualms: "The *Cursor Mundi* is certainly a northern work, but the mss. differ so considerably that it is not possible to form any accurate idea of the original dialect" (p. 13). Yet if he had had only one copy he would not have hesitated to locate the original poem! In the case of the *Awntyrs* he writes: "As the Thornton Ms seems to be a more accurate representation of the original dialect, the study of the dialect is taken from that Ms." (p. 113). He may be right, but in view of Robert Thornton's apparent habit of northernizing the texts he copies, it seems dubious method to proceed on such an assumption. Miss Serjeantson's practice of asserting the provenience of manuscripts only is certainly more sound. Yet it is very likely that in the case of *Nero A x*, where the evidence gives many reasons for ascribing the language to a particular district, Dr. Oakden is right in assigning the author's writing to that place.

In other cases, however, the evidence for assigning even a manuscript to a particular district will seem to a cautious scholar too slight. Thus, after reaching the conclusion that the manuscript of *Chevalere Assigne* is essentially Southeast Midland, Dr. Oakden mentions several details, of which he says one is Western and the rest Northern or North Midland. Hence he concludes that the poem was originally Northwestern changed by an East Midland copyist. It is just possible that this poem was written in the West Midland, but any judgment built on a small fraction of the phenomena is open to grave doubt. As in the case of the *Chevalere Assigne*, Dr. Oakden ascribes the *Morte Arthure* to West Midland on one or at most two details (occurring, in all, three times in a poem of more than three thousand lines). In discussing the *Destruction of Troy* he writes: "There is an example of *ho* for 'she' in alliteration: l. 3089, 'So he hedit þat hynde, and ho hym agayne'" (p. 67). How does he know that the alliteration is not on *hym* rather than *ho*? If it is on *hym*, inasmuch as Dr. Oakden allows for scribal change except in the case of alliteration or rhyme, he cannot use *ho* as evidence for the poem's being Northwest Midland. Most of the evidence, in fact, by virtue of which he places this poem in the desired location tends to crumble under scrutiny. For example, a little later he says that *hom* (for 'them') is another proof that the poem is Northwest Midland, but on page 32 he had stated that *hom* occurs in Robert Mannyng's verse and that it is not therefore exclusively a Western feature. On page 69 he writes: "There are a few examples of the ending '-us' scattered throughout the whole of the poem, which may be western forms surviving from the original," but on page 50 he had written "this feature was C.W. Midl." If the last-quoted statement is correct, *-us* cannot be cited as evidence of Northwest Midland. Moreover, if one regards the *a* in *aldeste* as due to analogy with *ald*, one can discount its value as dialect evidence. Hence almost the only definite indication of Northwest Midland dialect in the poem would be the *au* in *fawre* and *trauthe*. In view of the great length of that poem, it seems questionable whether so small a number of peculiarities should cause decision in favor of Northwest Midland. In other

cases, also, the evidence on which Dr. Oakden decides for West Midland is but slight.

The second part of the volume surveys the metrical characteristics of the alliterative poems. Dr. Oakden shows that we have texts through the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries and that they bridge the gap from Old English alliterative verse to that of the mid-fourteenth century. He gives detailed analyses of the alliterative practices of the various poems, stanzaic schemes, etc. In appendixes he accepts the common authorship of *Alexander A and B*, of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* and *Wynnere and Wastoure*, of *Sir Gawain*, the other poems in *Nero A x* and *St. Erkenwald*, but rejects common authorship of *Richard the Redeless* and *Piers the Plowman*, *The Destruction of Troy* and *The Wars of Alexander*, and *Death and Life* and *Scottish Field*; he suggests that the Green Knight's castle may have been the castle of Clitheroe and gives a scheme showing his theory of the scribal transmission of the poems in *Nero A x*.

A few errors in details may be worth mentioning: Dr. Oakden does not appear to know of the existence of the Lambeth manuscript containing the *Siege of Jerusalem* and the *Awntyrs of Arthure*. Amours' edition of the latter prints only two of the texts, not "all three" (p. 113). *Herieð* is a weak I verb and not weak II (p. 97). In the poems of Harley 2253 the author uses old prints and never mentions Bōddeker's edition. Throughout his study of meter Dr. Oakden uses only the views of Sievers and Luick and mentions the views of scholars who read Middle English alliterative verse with four stresses to the half-line (or four to the first half-line and three to the second) only to reject them with the remark that they are based on the theory that the Middle English alliterative verse is derived from "Otrifridian verse" or the Latin septenary, not from Old English (p. 176). Is it possible that he doesn't know that many German scholars (including Kaluza whom he mentions on p. 176) read Old English verse with four stresses to the half-line? Finally, one wonders why in handling the London documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth century he classifies Adam Davy and Gower as Southern, but Chaucer as East Midland. Why also does he include Richard Rolle and the *York Plays* under East Midland, thus leaving only Barbour's *Bruce* and the *Cursor Mundi* as Northern?

J. R. HULBERT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century.
By H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER. Part I: "The Pre-classical Period,
1610-1634." Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; Paris: Presses Uni-
versitaires, 1929. 2 vols. Pp. 785.

Few scholars are equipped as is Professor Lancaster for the huge undertaking which he has so successfully begun. A student of the early French

stage for years, he has already produced in his *Relations between French Plays and Ballets (1581-1650)*, his *French Tragi-comedy from 1552 to 1628*, his work on Du Ryer and his *Mémoire de Mahelot*, not to mention numerous articles, a quantity of research of which the present work is to a certain extent the summary and the final form. The need for a thorough account of seventeenth-century drama is very great, especially for that preliminary period under Louis XIII which, though not brilliant in itself, is of incalculable value for the comprehension of the masterpieces of the classical stage.

The principal feature of Mr. Lancaster's work is that he bases his conclusions directly on the some 255 extant plays that fill the period from 1610 to 1634. He examines these from every point of view, striving to attain an unbiased attitude toward the theater of the early part of the century and, in the light of his discoveries, to weigh carefully and impartially the opinions of previous scholars. No method of approach could be more direct, but the difficulty of presenting so much material to the reader in the clearest possible way is very great. Instead of emphasizing certain main dramatic tendencies of the whole period, Mr. Lancaster has sought to determine the trend of drama during each of the several brief periods into which he has divided the preclassical years. (Vol. I begins with the reign of Henry IV, linking the Renaissance drama to the preclassical; the subdivisions that follow deal with Hardy and his contemporaries, 1610-18; with the work of Racan and Théophile, 1619-24; with the rise of Mairet in the three following years; and with the "New Generation" in 1628 and 1629. The vital years from 1630 to 1634 fill most of Vol. II.) Each period is dissected and put under the microscope for us with infinite detail and splendid accuracy. But so many peculiarities of each play are noted that one despairs of disentangling the essential from the nonessential. In fact, Mr. Lancaster feels that nothing is unessential, that every oddity or banality of these early plays has not only a general but a very specific bearing on classical drama, and he unmercifully pulls us forward several decades, even centuries, to show us repetitions and likenesses which may be wholly fortuitous and must, as proofs of actual influence, remain at best only matters of conjecture.

Mr. Lancaster has also had to face another difficult problem, that of reclassifying many of the plays as to genre, no easy matter since these heterogeneous plays contain elements of many types and can hardly be confined to any one category. A certain arbitrariness is therefore inevitable. But the list of plays arranged chronologically according to the dates of printing and the ample Index which close the work are a great convenience. Much confusion is avoided by packing cumbersome plots into footnotes, and unity is gained by the preliminary remarks at the head of each chapter. These bear on the high points of the drama, on the movements of the theatrical companies, and sometimes on political conditions. Nevertheless, the plays seem like so many detached atoms, interesting in themselves but not intimately enough related to one another and to their setting.

Among the numerous subjects treated, the fluctuations of dramatic genres are of particular interest. We see the Mystery play gradually die out at the beginning of the century, leaving as a survival such a piece as *Sainte-Agnès*, a stepping-stone from the old religious drama to that of Rotrou and Corneille. The tough sinewy French farce lives on. Comedy can hardly be said to exist save for Troterrel's *Corrivaux*, which, though smacking strongly of the Renaissance, subordinates plot to comic dialogue and thus prepares for Corneille and Molière. The pastoral with its "Gran Mammy Topsy-toe" succession of lovers proves a popular genre. Hardy's tragedies, in which action replaces the lyrical effusions of sixteenth-century drama, are shown to be less an innovation than the continuation of a pre-existing tendency. Four tragicomedies quite in the character of Hardy's own survive. In fact, Hardy's glory as an innovator, which M. Lanson had already questioned, is very much dimmed by Mr. Lancaster.

In the period from 1619 to 1624 the dignity of true poetry enters drama with the *Bergeries* and *Pyrame*; tragi-comedy is for the moment eclipsed and tragedies and pastorals increase. From 1625 to 1627 Tragedy retreats and only Sir Pastoral rides full tilt on the field, apparently strong but in reality much corrupted by the bad company of Farce and Tragi-comedy. Indeed, the latter takes the lead in the two succeeding years. It is, however, by way of the pastoral that the unities are introduced into French drama.

It is startling to find that the unities so long thought to have emanated from the arid works of Italian critics and to have been forced on the dramatists of France were slowly but voluntarily adopted by the playwrights themselves, who saw in Mairet's *Sylvanire*, modeled on the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido*, a real betterment of drama. Here Mr. Lancaster has made a very definite contribution. He has shown that the theater had a very vigorous life of its own and was by no means under the dictatorship of the critics whether French or Italian. The abundant sixteenth-century discussions of the unities had had no influence whatever on the early seventeenth-century theater, for the plays which survive disregard all of the venerable trio. Moreover, there was apparently no discussion of the question among the dramatists of Hardy's time (p. 375) and none among the critics until Chapelain's mention of the unity of time in 1623. Whence came Mairet's inspiration? Not from the Italian critics, though he probably knew Castelvetro and Scaliger, but from sheer admiration for the *Aminta* and the *Pastor Fido*, whose renown was much vaster than that of the disheveled plays of Hardy. Mairet's contemporaries admired his plays and the unities were given a permanent home.

But there is still another influence which may have hastened the adoption of Mairet's practical example, that of the exigencies of stage-setting. Mr. Lancaster touches on this matter and perhaps goes as far as is possible in the light of our imperfect knowledge of stage technique. He says in discussing the unity of place and the tendency toward the unity of the tableau (p. 383):

"Doubtless the clarity that arose from this usage in the days of multiple scenery did much to bring the writers to adopt the unity of place, but only in Corneille's *Suivante* was the situation reached in which the space represented was hardly larger than that of the stage." To what extent are the unities an effort to escape from the confusion contingent on the medieval settings still used at the Hôtel de Bourgogne and, as it would seem, elsewhere in France? Annoyed by the narrow space within the compartments, the actors sometimes used the center of the stage from which to address the audience (pp. 720-21). This was confusing and was an offense against *vraisemblance*. It would be interesting to know, were it possible, how important a factor in the adoption of the unities was the practical demand for clarity, simplicity, and verisimilitude.

Besides tracing the rising and falling popularity of dramatic genres, Mr. Lancaster indicates the movements of traveling companies of French actors in France and in the Low Countries, notes the gradual decline of Rouen as a dramatic center and the rise of Paris. He comments on the sources of each play, combating whenever possible the theory of Spanish influence. He traces patiently the continued recurrence of such classical paraphernalia as ghosts, messengers, and omens. He follows the zigzag course of the Alexandrine in its struggle with the eight- and ten-syllable line; the history of the *stances*, the gradual acceptance of the five-act rule and the slow progress of the *liaison de présence*. Malherbe's corrective influence, whether in versification or in the general disappearance of vulgarity, is noted, and also such incidental matters as the rise of the *suivante* and the first play to incorporate a ballet. Very entertaining chapters treat of the stage and famous actors. To all these threads of discussion Mr. Lancaster adds many and very amusing citations showing the strong realistic tendencies of the seventeenth century. He sends flashes of humor through his pages and an occasional sharp thrust of criticism, or he executes a piece of brilliant detective work as in the ferreting-out of the anagram of Iapien Marfrière (p. 75) or in the determination of the dates of *Pyrame* and the *Bergeries* (pp. 162 ff.).

Exception will doubtless be taken to some of the author's conclusions as research continues to resuscitate forgotten plays, but one feels that all possible stones have been turned to make this book the last word on the subject, and there can be no question that it will be henceforth one of the necessary tools for the student of French literature. It should prove by its many queries and suggestions the starting-point for numerous other studies, and scholars will welcome the news that Part II (1635-51) is in preparation and will probably appear in two volumes in 1932 or 1933. Parts III and IV, in four volumes, will then follow.

HILDA NORMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Donne Tradition: A Study of English Poetry from Donne to the Death of Cowley. By GEORGE WILLIAMSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. Pp. x+264.

Mr. Williamson's book is in effect a history of the metaphysical, or "conceitist," English poetry of the seventeenth century. But the various chapters are separable and may be considered essays on a series of absorbingly interesting topics; and the second of these, called "The Nature of the Donne Tradition," is the core of the book; for here the author attempts once more, carefully but without dulness, the task of defining and describing Donne's paradoxical success in making poetry out of what we think, or used to think, unpoetic stuff. As his point of resistance he chooses Dr. Johnson's famous description of metaphysical wit in his life of Cowley: with this, he says, he must chiefly rest his quarrel—"though not without admiration"—and takes his stand with the more friendly critics: Carew (in the *Elegie*), Professor Grierson, and especially Mr. T. S. Eliot. The work is in fact throughout a *pièce de justification* (though never extravagant or ill considered), and reflects exactly a present mode of thought which (in England more than in America) has led to the critical rehabilitation and even to some imitation of the poetic conceit of Donne and Marvell.

Yet the difference between Dr. Johnson and, say, Mr. Eliot and Mr. Williamson is not so great as it may appear. It is true that the later critics try to phrase the psychological act which produces the conceit, while Johnson merely describes. The union of imaginative passion with intellectual analysis—this, though in varied terms, is the formula on which Professor Grierson, Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Williamson agree; and unquestionably the secret of Donne's strange power is to be found in that union. Still to state a fact is not always to make us understand it; and when we have read Mr. Williamson's rather light-handed analysis and Mr. Eliot's more penetrating phrases, we still feel that we do not really comprehend the psychology they describe. In fact, it only becomes the clearer to us, as we read their pages, that we have some yet harder thinking to do before we shall understand the minds of Donne and Bacon and Browne. We shall have to learn that the contrast and separation between intellect and imagination which was set up in the Cartesian philosophy was an artificial, not a necessary, one. We shall have to learn that for nearly all of what we call the seventeenth century in England—for its poets, essayists, preachers, and philosophers—this separation did not exist. They were men who achieved glowing eloquence in a hard process of ratiocination, who imagined most vividly while they were thinking most acutely. This, of course, is exactly what Mr. Williamson says; and the only point to be made is that this psychology still seems to us almost as strained and strange as it did in Johnson's time, while to the seventeenth century itself it was not at all strange, but a natural form of profound experience. In fact, Milton's own experience was of this sort, and was not nearly so different from that of Donne and Marvell as is commonly supposed.

Mr. Williamson points this out; and it must be noted as an outstanding merit of his work that he attempts to push the study of his subject out into wider circles than that of the metaphysicals themselves. In a final chapter, called "A Short View of the Tradition," he makes an excellent beginning in this direction by arguing that the same temper or "sensibility" that he is studying in the poets prevails also in the characteristic prose of the Jacobean and Caroline period, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, *Urn-Burial*, and the essays of Bacon for instance, in Montaigne, and in the dramas of Webster and Marston. (He would evidently like to add *Hamlet* and perhaps some other plays, but is restrained by the usual diffidence in generalizing about Shakespeare's relation to his time.) This is exactly true; and the future of the study of Donne lies in the attempt to understand the mental character and moral situation of his age and what he has in common with it rather than in further description of his external differences.

It will perhaps not be ungracious to find fault with Mr. Williamson on one point. He repeats the old charge—which has indeed plenty of backing from Donne's contemporaries—that his verse is harsh and unmusical. Is it not true that a poet who is not musical is not a poet? And that Donne—and Browning too—have, not no music, but a different music? Certainly the hand and ear that modulated the stanzas of *The Progress of the Soul* are the hand and ear of a great artist in rhythm and tone. The more exact truth is admirably phrased by Mr. Williamson himself when he speaks of "the astringent effect of intellect upon the *facility* of verse." Yet, in another passage he seems to lose touch with reality and come dangerously near to nonsense, when he writes of "the music of ideas," which is heard by our "inward ear." Let us be clear about it: we have no organ of hearing except that which partly projects from our head; and on any other assumption we fall into one kind of metrical folly or another.

MORRIS W. CROLL

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

German Literature as Known in England, 1750-1830. By V. STOCKLEY.
London: Routledge, 1929. Pp. xiv+339.

Students of the pre-Romantic and the Romantic periods will welcome this excellent bibliographical study of the English translations of German works, exclusive of lyric poetry, from Gellert's *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von Guildenstern* (1752) to the second English version of Fouqué's *Undine*, in 1830. Without repeating the work of Mr. F. W. Stokoe, whose *German Influence in the English Romantic Period* deals interestingly with literary forces in the same period, Miss Stockley limits herself to a lucid and precise survey of translations, together with a running comment of appraisal and explanation. The task which she has accomplished, like most bibliographical efforts, is impressive from its very bulk, from its demands upon the author's readiness

to treat not only the originals but all the translations, and to take the harder step of critical judgment. Her sense of order, however, and her critical wariness go far to make her book an invaluable chart of a very difficult region in comparative literature. The first six chapters introduce us to the early prose writers, such as Gellert, Rabener, Zimmerman, and Lavater, then to the translation of Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and minor writers of the *Sturm und Drang*. There follow chapters on dramatic works, with new light thrown on Zacharias Werner and Adolf Müllner, works of fiction through the two great periods 1790-1815 and 1815-30, collections of German romances, from *Popular Tales from the German* (1791) to Carlyle's *German Romance* (1827), miscellaneous prose translations, and finally a chapter on some early translators and critics. An easy means of reference is provided by three excellent appendixes, supplying respectively a list of "works translated from all the more important writers under the authors' names," a chronological list of some two hundred and fifty of the most important translations, and a Bibliography of the general subject, of particular authors, and of English periodicals between the dates adopted by the study.

Needless to say, such a comprehensive study reveals many new and interesting facts, and sets right many bibliographical errors of its predecessors. Yet such a work inevitably invites criticism. If Miss Stockley admirably explodes the prevalent notion that Carlyle was the first to introduce Jean Paul to English readers, we uncharitably ask why she does not discuss Carlyle in her final chapter, "Some Early Translators and Critics of German Literature"? His active interest in the Germans and his attempts to popularize their writers among an indifferent—if not hostile—audience fell within the same period that saw the efforts of those writers whom Miss Stockley discusses. Thus in the same years when William Taylor of Norwich was publishing his *Historic Survey of German Poetry* (1828-30) Carlyle was publishing his essays on Werner, Goethe, German playwrights, Novalis, and Richter. The same year that saw the last instalment of De Quincey's partial translation of Lessing's *Laokoön* in *Blackwood's* saw Carlyle's publication of *German Romance* (1827). Finally, Carlyle's translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* (1824) appeared during the active periods of not only William Taylor and De Quincey but also of Robert Pearse Gillies. Many readers, moreover, might wish to know more about the quality of Carlyle's translation than is afforded us in Miss Marx's *Carlyle's Translation of Wilhelm Meister* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1925). But these criticisms may seem petty and carping in view of the obvious excellences in a work so open to error, so full of minute and elusive data. It will certainly gladden the heart of those who have tried to find their way through the German-English field of the last century with the aid only of guides to solitary authors, even when such guides are as trustworthy as M. Carré in *Goethe en Angleterre* (1920), Mr. Kenwood in *Lessing in England* (1914), Mr. Rea in *Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England* (1906),

or W. Sellier in *Kotzebue in England* (1901). Miss Stockley does not include the work of these writers however; she conserves space by stating the nature and extent of their work, and devoting her efforts to fields not yet adequately covered.

On the whole, her work is a bibliography with a difference. It is stimulating to find it containing discussions of the merits of the translations, their reception by both critic and public, specimen passages from translators of the same passage (e.g., pp. 69-74, on Klopstock's *Odes*), as well as careful statements of the merits or weaknesses of even the most obscure translation. It is thus a bibliographical history of the movement and period to which the author has applied herself. Through an account of translations alone she has been able to show the growth of English interest in German literature from the time when Gessner's *Abel* (1761) occupied, with *Pilgrim's Progress* and the Bible, a place among the "sacred classics" of the people, through the Kotzebue craze to the first decade of the new century, through the lull in interest in foreign literature during the Napoleonic period, and on through the revival after 1815, when the greater poets and dramatists came into their own through the work of H. C. Robinson, Gillies, Taylor, and Carlyle. There is no reason why such a work should not become one of the standard guides to that difficult phase of English literature from 1750 to 1830.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

MICHIGAN STATE NORMAL COLLEGE

La Jeunesse de Swinburne (1837-1867). By GEORGES LAFOURCADE. Tome I, *La Vie*; Tome II, *L'Œuvre*. "Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg," Fasc. 44, 45. Paris: Société d'Édition, Les Belles Lettres; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1928.

In the most thorough and detailed study of the first thirty years of Swinburne's life yet attempted, a study based upon a great mass of unpublished documents, some of them discovered by the author himself, M. Lafourcade, after dismissing most of the previous criticism of the poem as in general false, superficial, and fragmentary (I, 7), has traced the poet's life almost from day to day and sought therein, and in a close and careful examination of his written work to 1867, the bases for the "antitheism, pantheism, republicanism, aestheticism and sadism" (I, 12) which he finds fundamental in the work of "one of the greatest lyric poets of the world" (I, 12).¹ This scholar's enthu-

¹ While M. Lafourcade thus dismisses most criticism of Swinburne anterior to his own work as incompetent, he makes generous exception in the case of the *Bibliography* (1919-20) of T. J. Wise and the supplementary works by that scholar, Harold Nicolson's *Swinburne* (1926), T. Earle Welby's *Swinburne* (1914) and his *A Study of Swinburne* (1926), and Gosse's *Life* (1917), a work "magistrale mais elliptique et concise" (I, 9). S. C. Chew's *Swinburne* (1929) was not available when M. Lafourcade's study appeared.

siasm for a great lyricist does not prevent him from taking seriously the poet's philosophy of life; he has probably gone farther in an analysis of the sources of Swinburne's ideas and in comment upon them than any other student of the subject. While it is gratifying to have the emphasis placed upon the thought of the poet, especially in view of a critical tendency to dismiss Swinburne as so much bookish theoretic expressed in windy redundancies, there is some question whether M. Lafourcade has not taken the poet at all points more solemnly than he deserves.

Part I of the study is biographical. The principal contributions of this section of the work are (1) the building-up of the concept of a period of literary development from 1849 to 1860 anterior to that of 1860-67, to the history of which M. Lafourcade brings more detailed information than is available in other books; (2) the strengthening of the idea that Swinburne was directly influenced by nature (the influences of literature and of nature united harmoniously in him [I, 47]); (3) a detailed study of Swinburne's relation to the pre-Raphaelites—a period which is not an "interlude" but an epoch ten years long (I, 144); (4) a detailed study of the influences upon Swinburne for evil, or at any rate for diabolism, of Monckton Milnes (who figures curiously as the villain of the piece), Richard Burton, John Nichol, C. A. Howell, and Simeon Solomon; and (5) the development of sadism in the life and works of the poet:

Nous avons signalé la précoce et troublante sensualité de son tempérament; mais ce n'est pas seulement son attitude sexuelle qui est ainsi expliquée, c'est aussi son double et contradictoire penchant à la soumission et à la révolte, les enfantillages de son caractère, le mélange des perversités les plus inquiétantes avec une certaine virilité foncière, une dignité et un équilibre proprement masculins [I, 263].

Car de Sade confirme certaines tendances et surtout couronne notre diagnostic, mais il n'a fait que se superposer aux dispositions naturelles de la personnalité. Là gît le mot de l'énigme; Swinburne est congénitalement anormal et non la victime de vices acquis. D'où le naturel, la pureté relative de son caractère. ... *Impuissant* à réagir aux stimulants ordinaires de l'instinct, Swinburne sent au contraire s'éveiller sa sensibilité sexuelle à certains spectacles ou représentations sadiques d'un ordre tout particulier ... le développement de l'instinct *ne pouvait* être chez lui normal [I, 265].

To this last passage M. Lafourcade appends the footnote that Adah Menken, who received ten pounds sterling from D. G. Rossetti on condition that she seduce the poet, returned the money *en honnête femme ... après loyalement essayé*. The name of Freud appears on page 226 of this part of the study,¹ and that of Krafft-Ebing on page 264.

It is evident that the whole vexed question of psychology, biography, and scholarship is raised anew by M. Lafourcade's work. On the one hand, there has clung around Swinburne's name a mysterious reputation for abnormality which the enforced reticences of Gosse's biography did nothing to dispel.

¹ In connection with the interpretation of *Lesbia Brandon*, Swinburne's unfinished novel of 1864-67.

It is of course known that among the unpublished and unpublishable manuscripts of the poet are a number that deal in obscenity, flagellation, and blasphemy. The eroticism of *Poem and Ballads* is often abnormal; nor was Swinburne's conduct when Miss Simon laughed at him (out of nervousness) quite that of a healthy human being. M. Lafourcade does not insist that this tendency in Swinburne was carried into abnormal physical activities; he does insist that Swinburne's enthusiasm for the works of the Marquis de Sade gives the key to the mystery (I, 264).¹ What, then, are we to make of this citation of Freud and Krafft-Ebing, of this constant iteration of the name of the Marquis de Sade?

As to the Adah Menken episode, M. Lafourcade has forgotten to deal with the fact that Swinburne explicitly referred to her as his mistress,² and under any circumstances it is difficult to take with great seriousness a bit of gossip such as M. Lafourcade cites. M. Lafourcade, moreover, seems to me to fall into the error with which the deists reproached the theologians in the eighteenth century: he cites the writings as proof of the poet's sadism³ and then argues that the poet's sadism is naturally expressed in his writings. He does not, moreover, carefully distinguish between the sentiments put into the mouth of a speaker in a play such as *Chastelard* or expressed in some of the dramatic monologues in *Poems and Ballads*, and the direct utterance of the poet; and though he speaks of "une étrange force de sympathie capable de mettre le poète à l'unisson des âges les plus éloignés" (II, 198), he seems to deny him a similar strange force of sympathy capable of putting the poet in unison with remote states of the soul. Swinburne certainly enjoyed "curious" literature; he undoubtedly praised the works of the Marquis de Sade, and undoubtedly was influenced by them; but I can but feel it is impossible, on the evidence M. Lafourcade presents, to say that Swinburne was congenitally abnormal and powerless to respond to the ordinary stimulations of the sexual instinct.

This is not to dismiss M. Lafourcade's book as another mistaken psychological biography. On the contrary, more carefully and courageously than any other student, he has faced one of the central problems in Swinburne biography and tried to disentangle it. The fault lies rather in overemphasis and disproportion: M. Lafourcade discusses Swinburne's juvenilia too solemnly, is inclined to take the chatter of English schoolboys too literally, and is in the English meaning of the word too "unhumorous" himself, not to have fallen into error. At the same time one must agree with him that Swinburne's attraction to erotic subject matter demands a more satisfactory explanation than the simple desire to shock the Victorians. He quite rightly condemns the explanation that the poet was simply a marvelous literary ventriloquist,

¹ The author quotes an unpublished letter of Oscar Browning—who, he admits, did not know Swinburne personally—to the effect that the relations of Swinburne and Solomon were "Sadie, not Greek." I confess I do not take such testimony very seriously.

² "The death of my poor, dear Menken . . . was a great shock to me and a great grief. She was most lovable as a friend as well as a mistress" (S. C. Chew, *Swinburne*, p. 80).

³ See II, 90, 207, 281, 309, 427 ff., for typical examples.

but in so doing he seems to me to have confused a desire to avoid this naïveté with an inability to make sufficient allowance for Swinburne's marvelous dramatic sense, his emotional and literary suppleness. For is it not true that Swinburne had something of Browning's ability to see the world through the eyes of many sorts of persons, and is it not as much of an error to suppose that because he wrote "Hermaphroditus" and "Dolores" he was absolutely abnormal himself, as it would be to suppose that because he wrote "Queen Bersabe" and "Rosamond" he wanted to be an Elizabethan or a medieval poet?

However this may be, the second volume of M. Lafourcade's great work is of the highest significance. Despite redundancies, it is the most complete treatise on the history of Swinburne's individual performances through the publication of *Poems and Ballads* anywhere to be found. The composition, the sources, the influences, and the significance of each work are traced out with great assiduity; and, in addition, the author pauses from time to time to sum up the intellectual and emotional development of the poet at particular stages. Particularly with reference to much unpublished work this analysis is of great value; but over and beyond this M. Lafourcade has carefully traced the growth and history of Swinburne's thought. More particularly than any other critic of Swinburne, he emphasizes what needed emphasis—the presence in this body of work of a great number of important ideas. His long analysis of *Atalanta* (II, 382–472) is especially lucid. He has entered likewise upon the vexing task of dating the composition of the various parts of *Poems and Ballads* (II, 417–24, 559–82) with results that we must accept as definitive; and in the appendixes to Parts I and II of the second volume has printed a number of excerpts from unpublished or scarce production by Swinburne of great value to the student.

Among the many virtues of the critical part of this study I should select M. Lafourcade's skilful disentangling of Swinburne's religious development as the chiefest, though here, too, one might perhaps occasionally object to a confusion between lines in which the poet speaks and lines put in the mouths of others. In the next rank I should place his study of Swinburne's aesthetic doctrine, again however, with a reservation—this time, a dependence upon the iteration of a few selected passages. His analysis of the metrical and stanzaic practice of the poet is sound enough, but, like so many similar studies, rather disappointing: much is promised, and—necessarily—little is given. It is, however, in his dissection of Swinburne's style that M. Lafourcade rises once more; particularly in his insistence upon the syntactical and grammatical clarity of the poet and upon a classical element in even his most perfervid verse is this criticism important and fresh.

Unfortunately, despite a page of errata, the book is disfigured by the many uncorrected errors which a French typesetter dutifully sprinkles over English texts, the more regrettable in certain instances because M. Lafourcade is printing for the first time unpublished material.

Those who find literary scholarship barren of important synthesis may well take heart at the appearance of a work like the present, well written and thorough, comprehensive and minute, and if marred by certain errors, rising above them to a position of first importance in the study of nineteenth-century English literature.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Präludium zur Poesie: Eine Einführung in die Deutung des dichterischen Kunstwerks. By THEOPHIL SPOERRI. Berlin: Furche-Verlag, 1929. Pp. 333.

The gulf which yawns between Wilhelm Scherer's school and the literary critic of today is growing ever deeper and wider. On the one side stands philological accuracy, on the other philosophical contemplativeness. Here we find a meticulous attentiveness to details which sometimes, unfortunately, falls into the extreme of pedantry, there an enthusiastic expansiveness which either frankly disregards details or covers this disregard with a veil of sophistry. Here we deal with a standardized method expressed in almost stereotyped terminology, there we encounter an amazing array of loosely used philosophical terms which seems to conceal an utter lack of technique.

Much ink has been wasted by proponents of both schools in fruitless efforts to discredit each other. Likewise many unsuccessful attempts have been made to bridge the chasm that separates them and to devise a technique that would do justice to the views of the philologist as well as of the *Geisteswissenschaftler*. But now the time seems to be at hand for both schools to abandon the hostile as well as the conciliatory attitude toward each other and to concede to each other the right of existence. Surely we cannot dispense with the analytic study of literature that concerns itself with the discovery of sources, of relations, with the evaluation of content and the analysis of form. And just as surely there is a place for the synthetic study of literature which seeks to grasp the work of art as an entity that loses both content and form when it is dissected. The former study has its well-defined technique, inherited from many generations of patient scholarship; the latter must seek its methods in the fields of philosophy and aesthetics. Each has its perfectly definite tasks and its clear road of approach; neither dare usurp the province of the other. And, most important of all, neither must masquerade in the garb of the other.

The title of Spoerri's book frankly proclaims the point of view of its author, and its content is a purely philosophical discussion of literary aesthetics. But the writer mars the effectiveness of his work in the first paragraph of the Preface by drawing an invidious comparison between the "old and new schools of literary criticism." "Die alte Literaturwissenschaft," he says, "bemühte sich redlich um philosophische Ideen und historisch-philologische Tatsachen;

sie ging aber scheinbar am Geheimnis der Kunst vorbei. Die neue Literaturwissenschaft ist wohl dem Geheimnis zugewandt; sie hat aber dafür ihren wissenschaftlichen Ruf aufs Spiel gesetzt." A far more effective introduction would have been a statement to the effect that the author did not propose to concern himself with *Literaturwissenschaft* but with *Literaturphilosophie* and that he laid no claim to *wissenschaftlichen Ruf*.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with an interpretation of reality. The author distinguishes between three different temperaments: the static (realistic), the dynamic (romantic), and the normative (classic). In the second part he applies these distinctions to literature. The third part, by far the most interesting, is devoted to interpretations of individual literary productions. Four poems and four letters by Goethe and the drama *Torquato Tasso* are discussed in the light of the author's philosophical and aesthetic views. It is to be noted, however, that these discussions do not take place in a metaphysical vacuum but against the well-defined philological background of the author's knowledge of the life and environment of Goethe. A number of romantic poets ranging from Eichendorff to Karl Stamm are interpreted in a purely philosophical manner and without regard to any external influence.

The Appendix includes an excellent bibliography of the literature of *Geisteswissenschaft*.

GUSTAVE O. ARLT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BRIEFER MENTION

Under the title *The Junius Manuscript* (1931; pp. lviii+247) the Columbia University Press has issued a volume, edited by Professor Krapp, which inaugurates a great project: the publication of the entire body of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Each of the first four volumes is to present the contents of one of the chief manuscripts, and two final volumes will offer all the remaining pieces of the *corpus*. The editorial plan is an improvement on that of the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*; the text is quite as accurate, careful, and conservative in the acceptance of emendations as Wülker's, and if the record of variant readings is perhaps not so complete, it has as ample compensation in an Introduction and Bibliography of over forty pages and concise notes on difficult passages (eight-six pages). Even a somewhat casual and experimental survey arouses a feeling of satisfaction at the discrimination and judgment of the editor in his explanatory notes and punctuation. As the volume contains no glossary, it would be desirable that a seventh volume be added to the publication, a glossary of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Perhaps in time the Council for Research in the Humanities at Columbia University will go even farther and "support" an improved *Sprachschatz* in English. In any case scholars and students are grateful to those who have made possible a uniform publication of all Old English poetry.—J. R. H.

The Book of the Icelanders (Íslendingabók), by Ari Porgilsson has been edited and translated with an introductory essay and notes by Halldór Hermannsson ("Islandica," Vol XX. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Library, 1930. Pp. vi+89). The *Íslendingabók* is the oldest Icelandic historical work, and this edition, with the recent millennial celebration of the Althing in mind, has been prepared mainly for students of history. In the forty-six pages of the Introduction there is a rich store of information concerning the background. The Icelandic text, in accordance with the purpose of the book, is normalized; the English translation is accurate, the notes are sufficient, and the Bibliography is well chosen.

Professor Hermannsson's chief original contribution is his answer to the question, What was the occasion of writing the *Íslendingabók*? He connects the work with contemporary events in the history of Icelandic legislation and is the first to see what now seems obvious, that Ari's famous Preface to his book is that of a submissive scholar who was required by the lords spiritual, the men who had commissioned him to write, to eat humble pie and revise his *History of the Icelanders*, making it over into a propaganda pamphlet to prepare the way for legislation desired by the bishops. The nature of the sources does not permit final proof of this thesis, but it is a brilliant suggestion, far

more sensible than any other yet made, and is rendered so probable that it seems strange that no one has offered it before.

There are a few minor details to mention: "croziers" would be clearer than "crooks" on page 60; certain slips in the dates on page 70 were not corrected in the proofs; and the Danish form, *Minde*, is printed for Norwegian *Minne* on pages 81, 87, and 88.—CHESTER NATHAN GOULD.

In an excellent dissertation (*Introito and Loa in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century*. Philadelphia, 1928) Mr. J. A. Meredith traces the historical development of the dramatic prologue from its origin to the time of Rojas Villandrando, when the *loa* assumes its definitive form. It starts as a comic address by the conventional shepherd. Later, Italian influence produced a more serious type of prologue. Still later the ingenuity of Rojas and his contemporaries gave rise to the humorous trifling current in the *siglo de oro*. The first instance of the word *loa* noted dates from 1551.

Other interesting Pennsylvania dissertations in the Spanish field are P. E. Douglass, *The Comedia Ypolita* (edited with Introduction and notes, 1929) and A. A. Giuliani, *Martial and the Epigram in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1930). The first of these makes available one more early dramatic text. The second is a wide-ranging source study comparable, on a smaller scale, to the similar studies on Horace and Ovid made by Menéndez y Pelayo and Schevill. Fifty authors influenced by Martial are studied.

The second volume of *Spain and Spanish America in the University of California Libraries* (Berkeley, 1930) is now available. The first, devoted to the general collection, has already been noticed in these columns. The present volume, which describes the famous Bancroft Collection, is even larger than its predecessor, containing 688 pages of titles. This completed bibliography will be an invaluable tool to Hispanists.—G. T. N.

Dorothy Schons, in her *Apuntes y documentos nuevos para la biografía de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza* (Madrid, 1929), has brought to light fourteen new documents relating to the great Mexican dramatist and his family. The most important of these concern the period when Alarcón passed several weary years in Madrid as *pretendiente*. We now know in detail the nature of his suit. He sought to obtain for himself a judicial appointment in Mexico and ecclesiastical preferment for his brother, Pedro Ruiz de Alarcón. In his second suit Don Juan was completely successful in obtaining for his brother the rectorship of a college of deaf-mutes in Mexico City. But in advancing his own claims the dramatist met with nothing but disappointment. Such judicial posts were reserved for the Spanish-born. The best he could effect was a post as *oidor* in Seville. He died a disappointed and a thwarted man, failing in his life's ambition, and little realizing that fame was to come to him from his literary avocation, undertaken merely to while away the unwelcome leisure

forced upon him by procrastinating court officials. Miss Schons is to be congratulated on the happy result of her search in the archives of the Indies and also for her lucid and scholarly interpretation of the documents.—G. T. N.

It is to be hoped that no one will hereafter use the name "Christine of Pisa" for the writer whose patronymic is traced by T. A. Jenkins in his review of Mlle Pinet's *Christine de Pisan* in *Modern Philology* for February, 1929 (XXVI, 374). Miss Lula M. Richardson's dissertation, published in 1929 by the Hopkins Press, bears the title *The Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance from Christine of Pisa to Marie de Gournay*, but the body of the volume gives Christine's name in more acceptable form. The work itself is a painstaking collection and analysis of treatments in prose or verse, ranging from the philosophic to the polemic by way of the *genre ennuyeux*, within the realm of feminism or prefeminism; the author traces to a certain extent the history of literary opinion about woman, but ventures on few conclusions of her own. It is indeed a baffling task to deal with this subject when its background in Italian thought and literature must be almost ignored—the subject itself really belongs in comparative literature. Miss Richardson has, to be sure, pointed out justly the debt of French feministic doctrine to the *Cortegiano* (though she refers to the 1894 instead of the 1916 edition by Cian, and spells variously the title and the author's name), but she should for thoroughness' sake have indicated the extent to which Petrarchism mingled with what she calls broadly neo-Platonism to form a new conception of woman, and how in general Italian sources of minor importance cross national boundaries to affect French thought in this sphere. It is questionable, moreover, whether what Miss Richardson speaks of indefinitely as the *esprit gaulois*, and refuses to admit to the literary sphere, can be so summarily ruled out of consideration as an index of general opinion about woman. However, within the necessary limitations of a dissertation and under the handicap of a pedestrian style the volume deserves consideration. The Bibliography contains some 170 titles (though it fails to list Bourciez's *Mœurs polies*), and there is a laudable Index; but the proofreading is slovenly enough even to allow portions of quoted texts to drop out in transcription.—R. V. MERRILL.

"Exercice critique et recherche de méthode, c'est tout Montaigne"—this is the essence of Gustave Lanson's recent contribution (*Essais de Montaigne* [Paris: Librairie Mellottée, n.d.]) to Doumic's series: "Les Chefs-d'œuvre de la littérature expliqués." It is an admirable book, compact, illuminating, well ordered—a model of analysis and expression. Modestly, Lanson likens his own aim to that of Charron in the seventeenth century. But how much truer he is to the reasoned maturity of the Sieur de Montaigne than is the author of *La Sagesse* a mere glance at his work will show. The book abounds in pregnant observations, such as "Le Stoïcisme d'un voluptueux" (title of a chapter); "subjectivisme, positivisme, relativisme ... définirait pour nous la posi-

tion de Montaigne plus exactement que le mot très lâche de scepticisme"; "l'édition de 1588 ... contient la philosophie définitive de Montaigne: les corrections et compléments ... n'y ajouteront que des nuances." Finally, there is a brief, but incisive, estimate of Montaigne's significance today, from which one may select the following reference to André Gide: "c'est bien souvent, dans le sens de Montaigne que Gide trouve son sens ... avec une sûreté de coup d'œil que nulle critique objective ne dépasserait." As Lanson makes clear, the keynote of Montaigne is the desire to learn the truth. He does not, even in the *Apologie*, close the door to science; but in the absence of objective scientific experiment (during his age), he falls back on human reason (*le bon sens*), the function of which he "organizes" for later generations.—W. A. N.

The Elizabethan Fairies by Minor W. Latham (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930) contains a full and valuable collection of passages about fairies from the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, grouped and discussed in six chapters. The treatment of this material, however, is not always satisfactory. Too little attention, for instance, is paid to comparative mythology. In the first chapter, on the "Origin and Nature of the Elizabethan Fairies," little evidence is used from the period before the sixteenth century, and in the later chapters, though records from medieval England are more numerous, their significance for the Elizabethan period is to my mind too often disputed. In fact, the author rejects such evidence on principle (pp. 12-13). Standard modern studies of Germanic mythology like those of Meyer, Mogk, and Golther do not even appear in the Bibliography. Again, for the Shakespearean era diverse elements are too little differentiated. Everything belongs roughly either to the "popular tradition" (p. 10) or to the Shakespearean. In dealing with the popular tradition there is no effort to separate pure folk belief from early literary conventions or from elements that came from plays, pageants, and folk games. Perhaps the effort would be futile, but the author disregards even the fairly obvious differences between some aspects of English and of Scottish beliefs and nomenclature, and in the chapter "Changeling and Witch" deliberately passes over the general relations of witches and fairies. Finally, too much stress is put on the unique qualities of Shakespeare's fairies. Poetic details of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* designed to motivate a fanciful story and give fitting tone for a half-pastoral midsummer setting peopled with fairies are emphasized as part of the fairy lore. Perhaps this is justified in part, as in the discussion of Shakespeare's creation of the diminutive fairies. But attention is not called to the part that the Elizabethan fondness for "conceit" plays in Shakespeare's portrayal. Rather, to uphold the claim for his inventiveness, the author rejects the idea that Shakespeare's treatment represents a poetic exaggeration of earlier conceptions of small demonic beings, and refuses to regard as significant medieval records of such beings on the ground that they were not fairies (pp. 188-90).—C. R. B.

A recent addition (number fifty-three) to the long series of studies that make up the "Bibliothèque de la *Revue de littérature comparée*" is *John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance*, by Violet M. Jeffery (Paris: Champion, 1928). Miss Jeffery's main thesis is that Lyly's chief editor, Bond, and his chief biographer and critic, Feuillerat, have erred in belittling the extent of Italian influence upon him, in both *Euphues* and his plays. To this end she heaps up a great—and, indeed, somewhat confusing—mass of Italian material, both from writers whose influence on the Elizabethans has been generally recognized, such as Boccaccio, Petrarch, Castiglione, Bembo, Guazzo, and from comparatively obscure compatriots of these men. Her citations are on such topics as the setting and the questions discussed in *Euphues*, "Lyly's Attitude to Love, Woman and Beauty" (chap. ii), such "minor themes" as friendship and magic (chap. iii), and the stylistic peculiarities of euphuism (chap. vii). There are also sections on "Italian Social Customs" (chap. iv), devoted to showing much knowledge of such customs by Lyly, and on the two classes of Lyly's plays, pastoral (chap. v) and mythological (chap. vi). Though Miss Jeffery presents little positive evidence of direct knowledge by Lyly of many of the Italian writers from whom she quotes, her accumulation of material unquestionably has value and makes her general contention seem reasonable. Moreover, she is not herself deceived as to the implications of the mass of ideas and of forms of expression in which Lyly's work resembles that of a whole flock of Italian neo-Platonists and others, for in her conclusion she insists, that, however much he borrowed, he was a true creative artist in his way of borrowing. "He did not invent his style: he perfected it. He did not invent his subject matter: he adapted it. It is precisely this power of assimilating the work of others, adapting and creating afresh, that stamps him as an artist."—GEORGE L. MARSH.

Students of English poetry, especially of the seventeenth century, may glean some useful notes from the recently published Munich dissertation of an American student, Dr. Dougall Crane of the University of Wisconsin, on *Johannes Secundus: His Life, Work, and Influence on English Literature*. This study appears as No. 16 in the series of "Beiträge zur englischen Philologie" (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1931), of which Professor Max Förster is general editor. The first section pieces together in an interesting manner the scanty details that are shown concerning the brief career of the Dutch neo-Latin poet of the famed *Basia*, who was allowed less than twenty-five years of life (1511-36). Scattered through this section and the next—"The Poetry of Secundus"—are some bits of translation by the author of the dissertation which are in the main highly effective English verse. The third division, "The Influence of Secundus on English Literature," makes up about half of the study and is the most valuable part. Though Dr. Crane has found no mention of his poet in English earlier than one in *The Arte of English Poesie* of 1589 (usually called Puttenham's), he points out earlier passages in poems by Thomas Watson and Tur-

bervile that seem to be derived from Secundus, either directly or through Ronsard. Later poets discussed as influenced directly or indirectly by Secundus include Barnfield, two of the Fletchers (Giles the elder and Phineas), Ben Jonson, Drummond, Herrick, Carew, Crashaw, and Thomas Stanley, who in 1647 published the earliest-known English translation of the *Basia* (in part). An Appendix includes a dozen or so pages of Latin passages, mostly from poems by Secundus that have been translated in the body of the dissertation, and a more complete bibliography of the poet than is to be found elsewhere, concluding with mention of Professor F. A. Wright's edition—the most extensive yet made in English—of *The Love Poems of Joannes Secundus, A Revised Latin Text and an English Verse Translation, together with an Introductory Essay on the Latin Poetry of the Renaissance* (1930).—GEORGE L. MARSH.

In the beginnings of English geographical literature the great name is that of Hakluyt, the compiler, in Froude's phrase, of "the prose epic of the English nation." Yet George Bruner Parks in his *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (American Geographical Society, 1928. Pp. xvii+289) has written the first adequate biography of this Elizabethan. By a meticulous examination of all the available evidence, not a little of it newly turned up in his own researches, he reveals the real Hakluyt. He was more than a collector of romantic tales of the sea and of strange lands; he was a historian who somehow infused into a miscellaneous collection of documents the breath of real history, which his successor, Purchas, quite failed to do; he was the diligent propagandist of English expansion, himself an adventurer in several companies; he was the expert consultant of merchants and explorers; he was the mirror of Elizabethan ideas of cosmography as also of empire. "The history of Hakluyt's career," Parks shows, "is in large part the intellectual history of the beginnings of the British Empire," and no unimportant chapter in the revival of learning in England.

The author has spread a fine net and indeed has caught in it not one Hakluyt only, but two: for an elder cousin of the clergyman, another Richard, a lawyer, emerges from almost complete obscurity as the founder of the family tradition in geographical science and promotion. Parks has gathered enough details of genealogy, biography, and bibliography to fill four appendixes, of which the most useful will be the list of Hakluyt's writings and of Hakluyt studies, and the important "List of English Books on Geography and Travel to 1600." His critical method seems altogether adequate. Serious gaps remained in the evidence after the really formidable labors of investigation. He has not been too timid to attempt to bridge these by logical inference, but he has been properly cautious in stating hypotheses. The result is perhaps a bit unfortunate from the reader's standpoint in that the author is constantly exhibiting his materials, often repetitiously, from various angles, and exhibiting also his procedures.—VERNER W. CRANE.

One of the recent interesting acquisitions of the University of Chicago Libraries is the complete stock of an old German fiction rental library. This collection, consisting of approximately fifteen thousand volumes, was begun about 1795 by the Leipzig book-dealer and publisher, W. Lincke. It was constantly augmented by the addition of the current best sellers of both German and foreign origin until the dissolution of the Lincke firm in 1840, when the stock of books passed into the possession of the Heims Leihbibliothek. Under the new management it continued without apparent change of policy until 1870. In its last decade or two the Heims Library seems to have lost ground rapidly; there are only a few acquisitions dating after 1850. Soon after 1870 the library suspended business and its stock of books has been in storage since then.

The value of this library for the student of German literature lies in the fact that it is the largest collection of subliterary fiction of the period 1790-1850 ever brought to America. It contains only a very few volumes by writers of recognized standing. Conspicuous among these are Clauren, Bentzel-Sternau, Alexis, Gaudy, Grün, Gutzkow, E. T. A. Hoffman, Holtei, Iffland, Klinger, Kosegarten, Kotzebue, Laube, Mügge, Mühlbach, Nicolai, A. W. Schlegel, Seidl, Zschokke. Practically all the really great writers are noticeably absent. On the other hand one finds 39 volumes by J. F. E. Albrecht, 105 volumes by H. E. R. Belani, 55 volumes by Alexander Bronikowski, 34 volumes by Julie Burow (Frau Pfannenschmied), 90 volumes by Philipp Galen, and 96 volumes by Henriette Hanke.

An individual study of any of the hundreds of ephemeral writers represented in this collection would probably be entirely unprofitable. But an investigation in bulk of the aesthetic character of this literature as a type would certainly cast a new and interesting light on the cultural status of nineteenth-century Germany. It would undoubtedly uncover sources in the lower reaches of literature from which some of the great masterpieces have sprung. A large part of the collection (possibly six thousand volumes) consists of translations from foreign languages. Among these are many that will be proved to be imitations rather than translations. The library includes, for example, ninety-six volumes bearing the name of Sir Walter Scott. Since Scott wrote less than fifty separate works, it is obvious that some forty of the alleged translations are forgeries. An investigation of these might reveal some of the factors that made Scott one of the best sellers in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century. International relations in subliterary fiction, the Gothic romance in Germany, the influence of the early Victorian novel—these and many other questions will be answered in this large collection.—GUSTAVE O. ARLT.

Because of intimate and important relations with many of the greatest of his time—Keats, Shelley, Byron, Hazlitt, Lamb (to start a list that might be extended)—Leigh Hunt was, and remains, a figure important beyond the value

of his writings; and the new biography by Edmund Blunden (*Leigh Hunt*. London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1930) is both a clever and a valuable work. From statements in the Preface one must conclude that the book contains considerable new material—or at least material new to a biography of Hunt; but because of Mr. Blunden's (or possibly his publisher's) aversion to footnotes, it is not easy to distinguish such material from what is old. However, even to a reader who likes exact documentation, the lack of it is a small fault when the merits of Mr. Blunden's work in comparison with most recent biographical writings are considered. His ambition seems not to have been to "dig up all the dirt" about his subject, to write of a great poet as if his sex life were all that mattered, to pass off as biography a piece of semihistorical fiction. He has, instead, examined all the evidence and presented its main points so skilfully that Hunt appears as the gay, kind, brilliant, unsteady, contradictory character he was. As "examiner" of Hunt's *Examiner*, as revivifier of John Clare for our generation, as student of "Shelley and Keats as they struck their contemporaries," Mr. Blunden has saturated himself with the spirit of the early part of the nineteenth century, in minor matters as well as in its main aspects. Indeed, his knowledge is so intimate, his manner at times so allusive, and his progress so rapid that the careless or ill-informed reader may sometimes feel lost in a maze of personalities. But this is less a fault than an indication of the richness of the book.

One hates to conclude with mention of trivial errors; yet it is not fair to deprive Cedar Rapids of some of its glory as home of the "ablest collector of Leigh Hunt in the world" by putting it in "Ohio" (p. xii), and the searcher for the source in Dante of Hunt's *Story of Rimini* should not be referred to Canto II of the *Inferno* (p. 100).—GEORGE L. MARSH.

M. William L. Schwartz a eu la bonne idée de reproduire dans le "Stanford Miscellany" un document fort intéressant pour l'étude de la fortune littéraire de Chateaubriand en Amérique: *Atala or the Love and Constancy of Two Savages in the Desert, Translated from the French of F. A. Chateaubriand by Caleb Bingham, A.M. Boston, 1802*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1930). Cette première version américaine suit le texte de l'édition originale, non sans y apporter de prudentes retouches: la pudeur du chaste lecteur anglosaxon y est ménagée avec un soin excessif, et le dogme catholique y est quelque peu dénaturé; les erreurs involontaires n'y manquent pas non plus, et la mystérieuse poésie de l'original ne s'y retrouve guère. Hélas, que devient, entre les mains de Bingham, la *cime indéterminée des forêts*: "The moon illuminated the azure vault of heaven, unspotted with clouds, and her pearl-colored rays floated among the uneven tops of the forest trees"! Décidément, ce Bingham n'était point poète.—R. V.





405
MO

English

VOLUME XXVIII

NUMBER 4

May 1931

MODERN PHILOLOGY

A *Journal* devoted to research in
Medieval and Modern Literature

THE LIBRARY OF THE
JUN 8 1931
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE UNIVERSITY of CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

MODERN PHILOLOGY

EDITORS

RONALD S. CRANE, *Managing Editor*

PHILIP S. ALLEN
CHARLES R. BARKERVILL
WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE
TOM PEETE CROSS

E. PRESTON DARGAN
JAMES R. HULBERT
T. ATKINSON JENKINS
JOHN M. MANLY
ROBERT VIGNERON

WILLIAM A. NITTE
GEORGE T. NORTHRUP
GEORGE W. SHERRURD
ARCHER TAYLOR

ADVISORY BOARD

STARR W. CUTTING
JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER
GEORGE L. KITTRIDGE

FREDERICK M. WARREN
ERNEST H. WILKINS
FRANCIS A. WOOD

Vol. XXVIII CONTENTS FOR MAY 1931 No. 4

Avallo	Louis Cons	385
Avalon	C. H. Slover	395
Recent Theories of Textual Criticism	W. W. Greg	401
A Hypothesis Concerning the Alliterative Revival	James R. Hulbert	405
The Personal Relations between Fielding and Richardson	Alan D. McKillop	423
Stendhal au conclave	Robert Vigneron	435
Notes and Documents		467

The Giant Corselet (F. M. Warren).—Thomson and Lady Hertford Again (Helen Sard Hughes).—Coleridge the Dragoon (Earl Leslie Griggs).—Romain Rolland Again Comments on *Jean-Christophe* (Henry Ward Church).

Reviews 479

Helen Eastman Manning (ed.): *La Vie de Saint Thibaut: An Old French Poem of the Thirteenth Century* (Raymond Thompson Hill).—José María Aguado: *Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz, poeta castellano del siglo XIV*; HENRY B. RICHARDSON: *A Stylistical Vocabulary to the "Libro de buen amor" of Juan Ruiz, Archipreste de Hita* (A. R. Nykl).—J. P. OAKDEN: *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English: The Dialectal and Metrical Survey* (J. R. Hulbert).—H. CARBINGTON LANCASTER: *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century* (Hilda Norman).—GEORGE WILLIAMSON: *The Donne Tradition: A Study of English Poetry from Donne to the Death of Cowley* (Morris W. Croll).—V. STOCLETT: *German Literature as Known in England, 1750-1830* (Charles Frederick Hartold).—GEORGES LAFOURCADE: *La Jeunesse de Swinburne (1837-1867)* (Howard Mumford Jones).—THEOPHIL SPORREI: *Prologium zur Poesie: Eine Einführung in die Deutung des dichterischen Kunstwerkes* (Gustave O. Ait).

Briefer Mention 499

Modern Philology is published quarterly by the University of Chicago at the University Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. †The subscription price is \$5.00 per year; the price of single copies is \$1.25. ‡Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Dominican Republic, Canary Islands, El Salvador, Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Hayti, Uruguay, Paraguay, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands, Balearic Islands, Spain, and Venezuela. †Postage is charged extra as follows: for Canada and Newfoundland, 15 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$5.15), on single copies, 4 cents (total \$1.29); for all other countries in the Postal Union, 25 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$5.25), on single copies 6 cents (total \$1.31). ‡Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following are authorized agents:

For the British Empire, except North America, India, and Australasia: THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Fetter Lane, London, E.C. 4, England. Yearly subscriptions, including postage, 23s. 8d. each; single copies, including postage, 6s. 4d. each.

For Japan: THE MARUZEN COMPANY, LTD., Tokyo.

For China: THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LTD., Paoshan Road, Shanghai. Yearly subscriptions, \$5.00; single copies, \$1.25, or their equivalents in Chinese money. Postage extra on yearly subscriptions 25 cents, on single copies 6 cents.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to The Managing Editor of MODERN PHILOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

The articles in this journal are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals, New York, N.Y.

Applications for permission to quote from this journal should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, and will be freely granted.

Entered as second-class matter July 13, 1903, at the Post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 15, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

A Balzac Bibliography

By
WILLIAM H.
ROYCE

Embraces writings in more than a dozen languages, presents the information in complete bibliographical form, is entirely up to date and comprehensive. Critical opinions and synopses accompany important entries.

The titles, numbering over 4,000, include both books and periodicals, and limited editions.

464 pages, \$5.00

The University of Chicago Press

THE HANDWRITING OF THE RENAISSANCE

Being the development and characteristics of the script of Shakspeare's time

By

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

A textbook for readers of Renaissance manuscripts

Price \$4.00

**C O L U M B I A
UNIVERSITY PRESS**

The Romanic Review

Founded by
Professor Henry Alfred Todd

A Quarterly Journal

Devoted to Research in the
Romance Languages and
Literatures

Edited by
JOHN L. GERIG
Columbia University
New York City

Subscription price, \$4.00 per year

Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc.

- B. Matulka—*The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion. A Study in Comparative Literature*..... \$4.00
- N. C. Shields—*Italian Translations in America*..... \$4.00
- L. F. Strong—*Bibliography of Franco-Spanish Literary Relations (Until the Nineteenth Century)*..... \$1.00
- R. D. Scott—*The Thumb of Knowledge in Legends of Finn, Sigurd, and Taliesin. Studies in Celtic and French Literature*... \$2.25
- E. Cross—*Syncope and Kindred Phenomena in Latin Inscriptions from the Parts of the Roman World where Romance Speech Developed*..... \$1.25
- B. Levy—*The Unpublished Plays of Carolet: A New Chapter on the Théâtre de la Foire*... \$2.00
- G. L. van Roosbroeck—*Grotesques* (Illustrated by Jan Matulka)..... \$1.50
- E. Brugger—*The Illuminated Tree in Two Arthurian Romances*..... \$1.00

Address inquiries and orders to:

PROFESSOR G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK
504 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University
New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Just Published

Practical English Composition

Rhetoric, Handbook, and Practice Book

By EASLEY S. JONES

Within the covers of a single volume, here are to be found the terse vivid treatment characteristic of handbooks, thorough and lively discussions of the fundamental principles of rhetoric, and handy perforated exercise sheets for drill and tests.

A Practical Time-Saving, Effective Textbook

Among the advantages of *Practical English Composition* not to be found in other texts are its lively and interesting style; the practical use of cuts, drawings, etc.; the convenient chart of the contents, which assures rapid reference; the ingenious arrangement of the exercises, which reduces to a minimum the time required for correcting papers; and the unusual typography (this is the only text of its kind which employs 11½-point type).

Freshness of Method

The book introduces a new direct method of teaching, emphasizing right forms. The old method of giving a wrong construction followed by the correct construction for comparison has been discarded. This book presents *corrected* sentences—faulty sentences with the corrections marked boldly upon them in script. The student never sees bad English except crossed out and corrected.

Simple in Plan

The text avoids the common error of taking English apart and leaving the parts scattered in the student's mind. It undertakes a few definite things and covers these thoroughly, beginning at the level where the student is. It takes the class to definite goals, and affords the means (through exercises and tests) of examining the successive steps of the process. The topics are treated in a logically progressive order. There is no morgue of dead matter stored in an appendix.

Practical English Composition is published in two editions, one with the perforated exercise sheets, and one without the exercise sheets for the benefit of those instructors who prefer to buy in separate form a workbook like *Practice Leaves in the Rudiments of English*, by the same author. Price, \$2.35; Special Edition, \$2.00.

353 Fourth Avenue
New York

The Century Co.
PUBLISHERS OF THE NEW CENTURY DICTIONARY

2126 Prairie Avenue
Chicago

n

se
ly
ly

bd
as.
n-
n-
s-
ed
r-
in
g-

of
e
it
r-
e
e
e
of
e
a
o
-

d
e
s
a